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THE CATHOLIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NORSE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

The fact that the early Norsemen reached the coast of continental North America is admitted by practically all authors who have written upon the subject in recent years. But the number and the order of the voyages that are described in the Icelandic sagas and in other medieval works, and the identification of the places reached by the Norsemen, are questions to which competent investigators in the past as well as in the present have given widely divergent answers. The Vinland (or Wineland) problem which is concerned with the solution of these difficulties continues to enlist the serious study and enthusiastic interest of many students. The manner of approach to the problem has varied to some extent with the authors who have dealt with it. Yet such is its intricacy that some conclusions reached by its earliest investigators are sustained by recent scholars, while the same conclusions are rejected by equally competent authorities of to-day. The Vinland problem is thus one of the most baffling in American History; it also continues to be one of the most fascinating.

Treatment of the claim that Leif Ericsson and not Columbus discovered America has not been entirely free from passion and prejudice. The present writer was somewhat puzzled to find some Catholic authors viewing the claim as one made with an animus against the Catholic Church, until several works came to his notice written with amazing hostility not only to Catholicity but even to Christianity. But such treatment of the question is rare. As we shall see, Catholic writers have made noteworthy investigations into nearly all aspects of the Norse voyages to America. One has figured as translator of sources; another as

compiler and interpreter of widely scattered and unfamiliar material; another as a competent critic of the literature on Pre-Columbian America; another as historian of medieval cartography and even as discoverer of maps of immense interest to the learned world. We shall find also what share some of the medieval clergy of Iceland had in writing or compiling the original works upon which later records have been based.

THE SAGA NARRATIVES

Inasmuch as in the course of the present inquiry we shall meet continual references to passages in the Icelandic sagas dealing with the Vinland voyages, it will be well to have before us the main narratives and even some of their details. The translations that follow are taken from A. M. Reeves' *The Finding of Wineland the Good* (London, 1890), which is still the finest work in its field.*

The story of Leif Ericsson's voyage is briefly told in Friis' Book** and reads as follows: "Leif, a son of Eric the Red, passed this same winter in good repute with King Olaf and accepted Christianity. And that summer (1000 A. D.) when Gizur went to Iceland, King Olaf sent Leif to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there. He sailed that summer to Greenland. He found men upon a wreck at sea and succoured them. Then likewise he discovered Wineland the Good, and arrived in Greenland in the autumn." [1]

The same story but with added details is found in Hauk's Book: "Leif put to sea (from Norway) when his ship was ready for the voyage. For a long time he was tossed about upon the ocean, and came upon lands of which he had previously had no knowledge. There were self-sown wheat fields and vines growing there. There were also those trees there which are called 'mausur,' and of all these they took specimens. Some of the timbers were so large that they were used in building. Leif found men upon a wreck and took them home with him and procured quarters for them all during the winter. . . Leif landed in

*The reader who may wish to possess the main saga narratives in convenient form can purchase for a few cents: *Extracts from the Sagas Describing the Voyages to Vinland* (American History Leaflets. Simmons-Peckham Co., Inc. New York).

**The sources mentioned in these narratives are described later in our pages.

1 REEVES, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Ericsfirth and then went home to Brattahlid; he was well received by every one. He soon proclaimed Christianity throughout the land and the Catholic faith. . ." [2]

The Flatey Book omits mention of Leif's discovery of Wineland the Good and tells a different story: Biarni Heriulfsson, sailing from Iceland for Greenland, was driven out of his course and far to the southwest. He sighted three lands in succession but did not visit them, and finally reached Greenland where he told his adventures. Leif, hearing of them, bought his ship from him and, collecting a crew forming altogether a company of thirty-five men, sailed to explore these lands. First they came to a land where "great ice mountains lay inland back from the sea and it was a (tableland of) flat rock all the way from the sea to the ice mountains." [3] Leif named this Helluland (Flat Stone Land). Next they found a second land which he named Markland (Forest Land). "They returned to the ship forthwith and sailed away upon the main with north-east winds and were out two 'doegr'* before they sighted land. They sailed toward this land and came to an island which lay to the northward off the land. . . (Thence they) sailed into a certain sound which lay between the island and a cape which jutted out from the land on the north, and they stood in westering past the cape. At ebb-tide there were broad reaches of shallow water there and they ran their ship aground. . . (They) hastened to the land where a certain river flows out from a lake. . . They afterwards determined to establish themselves there for the winter and they accordingly built a large house. . . There was no frost there in the winters. . . The days and nights there were of more equal length than in Greenland or Iceland. On the shortest day of winter the sun was up between 'eyktarstad' and 'dagmalastad'. . . Leif gave the land a name and called it Wineland." [4]

The Flatey Book (but not the Hauk's Book) next tells us of a voyage by Leif's brother Thorvald who, claiming that Vinland had not been sufficiently explored, took Leif's ship and with thirty men reached Leif's Booths in Vinland. "They laid up

2 REEVES, p. 36.
3 REEVES, p. 65.
*The meaning of this word, which literally means "day," has been much discussed. It is uncertain whether it is a measure of a day's sail or a period of time; and if the latter, whether it means a day of twelve or one of twenty-four hours.
4 REEVES, pp. 65-67.

their ship there and remained there quietly during the winter, supplying themselves with food by fishing." In the spring a few men with the after-boat explored the region "along the western coast"; in the following summer Thorvald "set out toward the east with the ship and along the northern coast. They were met by a high wind off a certain promontory and were driven ashore there and damaged the keel of their ship." After repairing the ship Thorvald said to his companions: 'I propose that we raise the keel upon this cape and call it Keelness' (Kialarnes) and so they did. Then they sailed away to the eastward off the land and into the mouth of the adjoining firth and to a headland which projected into the sea there and which was entirely covered with woods. . . 'It is a fair region here,' said he, 'and here I should like to make my home.' Presently they discovered some natives under three "skin-canoes," whom they slew; but later "a countless number of skin-canoes . . . advanced toward them from the inner part of the firth" and in the engagement that ensued Thorvald was fatally wounded by an arrow. . . . According to his wishes his companions placed a cross at his head and another at his feet and buried him on the headland that he wished called Crossness (Krossanes)[5]. The Flatey Book is also the only authority for an account of a voyage undertaken by Thorstein Ericsson and his wife Gudrid, a courageous and noble woman who figures prominently in the Icelandic sagas. Thorstein tossed about all summer on the ocean without finding Vinland and finally returned to Greenland where he died in the following winter. Gudrid subsequently married Thorfinn Karlsefni by whom she became the mother of Snorri, the first child of European parentage to be born on the continent of America, and the ancestress of several illustrious Icelanders.

In 1002 there arrived in Greenland from Norway a well-to-do seafaring merchant of distinguished lineage, Thorfinn Karlsefni, with a shipload of merchandise. He stayed with Eric the Red at Brattahlid and the next year married Gudrid. "About this time there began to be much talk at Brattahlid to the effect that Wineland the Good should be explored. . . And so it came to pass that Karlsefni and Snorri (his partner) fitted out their ship for the purpose of going in search of that country in the spring (of

5 REEVES, pp. 68-69.

1003). Biarni and Thorhall joined the expedition with their ship and the men who had borne them company. . . They had in all one hundred and sixty men when they sailed to the Western Settlement* and thence to Bear Island. Thence they bore away to the southward two 'doegr'. Then they saw land and launched a boat and explored the land and found there large flat stones (hullur) and many of these were twelve ells wide; there were many Artic foxes there. They gave a name to the country and called it Helluland (the land of flat stones). Then they sailed with northerly winds two 'doegr' and land then lay before them and upon it was a great wood and many wild beasts; an island lay off the land to the southeast and there they found a bear and they called this Biarney (Bear Island) while the land where the wood was they called Markland (Forest-land). Thence they sailed southward along the land* for a long time and came to a cape; the land lay upon the starboard; there were long strands and sandy banks there. They rowed to the land and found upon the cape there the keel of a ship and they called it there Kialarnes (Keelness); they also called the strands Furdustrandir (Wonder-strands) because they were so long to sail by. Then the country became indented with bays and they steered their ships into a bay." Two Gaelic slaves were here put ashore and directed to run to the southward "and investigate the nature of the country and return again before the end of the third half-day. . . . and when they came again one of them carried a bunch of grapes and the other an ear of new-sown wheat" (AM ms. 557 reads: "wheat self-sown"). "Karlsefni

*The Eastern Settlement, in which Eric the Red dwelt, lay on the southwest coast of Greenland in the district of Julianehaab and extended from the region of Cape Farewell to the present Tigssaluk. The Western Settlement lay "six days' rowing" to the northwest along the same shore in the Godthaab district. See Daniel Bruun's masterly and interesting treatise on "The Icelandic Colonization of Greenland" in Meddelelser om Gronland LVII (Copenhagen, 1918) for a comprehensive account of the Norsemen in Greenland based upon both archeological and literary sources.

*This is the reading of the saga manuscript known as AM. 557; the Hauk's Book reading is: "Then when two 'doegr' had elapsed they descried land and they sailed off this land; there was a cape to which they came." The former account implies coasting along the land; the latter may imply crossing a broad bay or even a portion of the Atlantic ocean. Those critics who hold to the St. Lawrence region as the country reached by Karlsefni are sustained by the former reading; those who hold that he reached Massachusetts or even further south can rely upon the latter reading, granting that the daily length of the voyage has been accurately recorded.

and his followers held on their way until they came to where the coast was indented with bays. They stood into a bay with their ships. There was an island out at the mouth of the bay about which there were strong currents, wherefore they called it Straumey (Stream Isle). There were so many birds there that it was scarcely possible to step between the eggs. They sailed through the firth and called it Staumfiord (Stream-firth), and carried their cargoes ashore from the ships and established themselves there." Here they remained during the winter but suffered from lack of food. Thorhall, one of the party, wished to sail to the northward beyond Wonder-strands in search of Vinland. He did so, but lost his life. Karlsefni now "cruised southward off the coast. . . They sailed for a long time and until they came at last to a river which flowed down from the land into a lake and so into the sea. There were great bars at the mouth of the river. . . Karlsefni and his men sailed into the mouth of the river and called it there Hóp (a small land-locked bay). They found self-sown wheatfields. . . and . . . vines." One morning they saw a great number of skin-canoes filled with strangers. "They had great eyes and were broad of cheek. They tarried there for a time. . . and then rowed away and to the southward around the point." But in the following spring they returned and bartered pelts for strips of red cloth. Karlsefni's bull frightened them away. At the end of three weeks "a great multitude of Skrelling boats was discovered approaching from the south." In the engagement which ensued the natives "raised up on a pole a great ball-shaped body, almost the size of a sheep's belly and nearly black in colour, and this they hurled from the pole." Karlsefni's men retreated to their dwellings. After this encounter, deeming it wise to leave the region, they set sail and arrived at Streamfirth again. Karlsefni then sailed northward around Keelness and bore to the westward; "and when they had journeyed a considerable distance, a river flowed down from the east toward the west. They sailed into the mouth of the river and lay to by the southern bank." Here one morning Thorvald was killed by an arrow shot by a "Uniped." "Then they sailed away back toward the north. . . They concluded that the mountains of Hóp and those which they had now found formed one chain. . . They sailed back and passed the third

winter at Streamfirth. . . When they sailed away from Wineland they had a southerly wind and so came upon Markland, where they found five Skrellings," from whom they captured two boys who later learned to speak Norse.* Karlsefni reached Greenland and spent the winter with Eric the Red.[6]

An account of a later voyage to Vinland by Eric's daughter Freydis and two brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi, is given in the Flatey Book alone and may be omitted here. It is thought by some to be fictitious.

The descriptions given in these narratives are obviously vague and may be made to fit several if not many places on the Atlantic coast. The story of the attempts to identify the localities reached is an interesting one but is too long for this article. Speaking generally it may be said that Helluland is supposed to be Labrador; Markland either Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. Vinland and Hóp, if the same place, were long thought to be in Rhode Island or in Massachusetts; but the trend of more recent writers is to place them either on the broader reaches of the St. Lawrence River or on the Canadian coast (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, etc).

THE ORIGINAL SOURCES

The manuscript sources from which our knowledge of the early Norse voyages to America is derived comprise four main narratives of considerable but varying length, and some ten passages or allusions to men or places connected with the voyages to Vinland, contained in other sagas or in geographical works or fragments. The original manuscripts are so frequently referred to by name that it will be convenient to list them at this point of our inquiry, grouping them chronologically by the supposed or approximate dates of composition, and affixing to the titles the library symbols by which they are quoted.* Most of these manuscripts are in the so-called Arna-Magnaean collection now preserved in the library of the University of Copenhagen and referred to by the symbol "AM" and their number. We have already quoted at some length from the main narratives; the

*The supposed Skrelling names of persons, repeated by these boys to their Norse captors, have been the subject of much speculation.

6 REEVES, pp. 42-51.

*The vernacular titles are given in Reeves.

significant passages relating to Vinland found in the minor narratives are, for convenience, given here with each title.[7]

Adam of Bremen's Description of the Islands of the North ca. 1070:

> "Moreover, he (King Svend) spoke of an island in that ocean discovered by many, which is called Wineland."

Icelandic manuscripts containing the main narratives of the Vinland voyages:

Hauk's Book (AM 544. 4to) 1304 or before 1334.

Saga of Eric the Red (AM 557. 4to) ca. 1400.
(Saga Eireks Rautha).

Flatey Book (Old Royal Collection no. 1005) 1387-1395.
Short Story of Eric the Red (Thattr Eireks Rautha)
Short Story of the Greenlanders (Groenlendinga Thattr).

The above two narratives are interpolated in the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason.

Icelandic manuscripts containing minor passages or allusions:

Ari the Learned's Icelanders' Book (AM 113a and 113b) 1134

> "They found there (Greenland) the dwellings of men and fragments of boats and stone implements such as it may be perceived from these that the manner of people had been there who have inhabited Wineland and whom the Greenlanders call Skrellings."

Book of The Settlement of Iceland (Landnámabók) (AM 371. 4to) 12th cent.

> "It (White-Men's-Land) lies westward in the sea near Wineland the Good." "Karlsefni, who found Wineland the Good."

Narrative of the Introduction of Christianity into Iceland (Kristni-Saga) (AM 105. fol.) 13th cent.

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7 The passages quoted are all taken from Reeves, Chap. 1: Early fragmentary references to Wineland, except the passage from Adam of Bremen (p. 92), and the extracts from the Annals (pp. 80-83).

"Leif found Wineland the Good; he also found men on a wreck at sea, wherefore he was called Leif the Lucky."

Friis' Book or Book of Kings (AM 45. fol.) 14th cent.

"And that summer (A. D. 1000) when Gizur went to Iceland, King Olaf sent Leif to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there. He sailed that summer. . . Then likewise he discovered Wineland the Good and arrived in Greenland in the autumn."

Longer Saga of Olaf Tryggvason (AM 61. fol.) ca. 1400

"Leif sailed to Greenland that summer. . . and on this same voyage he found Wineland the Good."

Collectanea of Middle-age Wisdom (AM 194. 8vo) 1400-1450.

"Southward from Greenland is Helluland, then comes Markland; thence it is not far to Wineland the Good, which some men believe extends from Africa. . . Karlsefni hewed a 'house-neat-timber' weather-vane? and then went to seek Wineland the Good. . . Leif the Lucky first found Wineland."

Geographical Fragment (AM 736. 4to)

"From Greenland to the southward lies Helluland, then Markland; thence it is not far to Wineland."

Cosmography (AM 764. 4to) 1400

"From Biarmaland (Russia) uninhabited regions extend from the north until Greenland joins them.* South from Greenland lies Helluland, then Markland. Thence it is not far to Wineland."

Eyrbyggia Saga 1400

"Snorri went to Wineland the Good with Karlsefni; and when they were fighting with the Skrellings there in Wineland, Thorbrand Snorrason, a most valiant man, was killed."

*"As early as the 13th century Bjarmiland in Northern Russia was supposed to stretch far to the north and west until it joined the boundaries of Greenland." —P. A. Munch, Norse mythology (N. Y. 1926), p. 286.

Icelandic Annals referring to later voyages:

(AM 420b. 4to) A. D. 1121. "Bishop Eric Uppsi sought Wineland."

(Annals appended to the Flatey Book) A. D. 1121. "Eric Bishop of Greenland, went in search of Wineland." Four other mss. state the same fact.

(AM 420a. 4to) A. D. 1347. "There came also a ship from Greenland, less in size than small Icelandic trading vessels.

It came into the outer Scream-firth. It was without an anchor. There were seventeen men on board and they had sailed to Markland, but had afterwards been driven hither by storms at sea."

Many of the works that we have just cited as the sources of our knowledge of the Norse voyages to America were written by Catholic clergymen. "Wineland the Good is first mentioned in Icelandic literature by the priest Ari Thorgilsson in a passage contained in his so-called Islendingabók (Icelanders' Book)" writes Reeves in the first sentence of his survey of the sources.[8] The original Icelanders' Book has perished but an abstract of it entitled Libellus Islandorum, made by Ari himself, has come down to us. The author of the Heimskringla says: "The priest Ari Thorgilsson the Learned, Gelli's grandson, was the first of men here in the land (Iceland) to write ancient and modern lore in the Northern tongue."[9] Ari writes: "That country which is called Greenland was discovered and colonized from Iceland. Eric the Red was the name of the man, an inhabitant of Breidafirth, who went out thither from here and settled at that place which has since been called Ericsfirth. He gave a name to the country and called it Greenland. . . And this . . . was XIV or XV winters before the introduction of Christianity here in Iceland (i. e. 985 or 986) according to that which a certain man, who himself accompanied Eric the Red thither, informed Thorkel Gellisson (the uncle of Ari)."[10] "This passing notice," said Reeves, "indicates a general diffusion of the knowledge of the Wineland discoveries among Ari's contemporaries at the time

8 REEVES, p. 7.
9 *Ibid.*
10 REEVES, pp. 9-10.

when the paragraph was composed" (about 1134).[11] Ari was also the author of the earlier portion of the Landnámabók or Book of the Settlement of Iceland, and wrote the Kristni-Saga or Narrative of the Introduction of Christianity into Iceland, in both of which works mention is made of Wineland the Good.

These references, although giving no indication of value as to location of Vinland, are important because indubitably of early date. An even earlier mention of Vinland, however, is found in a passage of Adam of Bremen's "Description of the Islands of the North." Adam came to Bremen about 1069 as canon under Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, and became a master of the Cathedral School there.[12] In search of new information upon Northern history he paid a visit to the King of Denmark, Sven Estrithson, who, he says,"spoke of an island in that ocean discovered by many which is called Wineland for the reason that vines grow wild there, which yield the best of wine. Moreover, that grain unsown grows there abundantly is not a fabulous fancy but from the accounts of the Danes we know to be a fact. Beyond this island, it is said, that there is no habitable land in that ocean, but all those regions which are beyond are filled with insupportable ice and boundless gloom.[13] Adam's mention of vines growing wild in a country close to "insupportable ice," however, led later writers to put little faith in his words.

The information about the location of Helluland, Markland and Vinland, contained in the Geographical fragment (AM 736, 4to), was probably derived from Abbot Nicholas of Thingeyre. Father Fisher, S. J., whose work on the Norsemen in America will be noticed soon, says in regard to him: "Adam of Bremen and Ari the Wise give us in their histories of the Far North but slight notes on the corresponding geographical connection; but from a geographical standpoint their reports are most fortunately corroborated by a geographer in the middle of the 12th century, who was probably the Abbot Nicholas of Thingeyre (d. 1159).* The reports of the ancient geographer are to be found in the Icelandic mss. of the 14th and 15th centuries, form-

11 Reeves, p. 10.
12 Joseph Fischer, S.J., *Discoveries of the Norsemen in America*, p. 1.
13 Reeves, p. 92.
*In a note Fr. Fischer says: "Winsor takes no notice of this valuable report. Reeves, p. 15, notes the report but not the Abbot Nicholas."

ing a short description of the world, based on Latin sources and reports of Abbot Nicholas, himself a great traveller. The only ms. which contains a paragraph on the discovery of Wineland, in the description of the countries W. and S. W. of Iceland, is one which gives details on the authority of Abbot Nicholas. This is regarded therefore, as of the highest authority and is rightly traced back to the Abbot." [14]

The main narratives of the Norse voyages to Vinland are found in two groups of manuscript sources: (1) Hauk's Book and a manuscript (AM. 557, 4to) containing an account of the Vinland "so strikingly similar to that of Hauk's Book," says Reeves, "that there can be no doubt that both histories were derived from the same source"; and (2) the Flatey Book in which we find, interpolated in the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason two minor narratives, one a Short Story of Eric the Red and the second a Short Story of the Greenlanders.[15]

The character and relationship of the two main sources, Hauk's Book and the Flatey Book are so clearly and simply set forth by John Fiske in his *Discovery of America* that the passage is worth quoting here: "The narrative upon which our account of the Vinland voyages is chiefly based belongs to the class of historical sagas. It is the Saga of Eric the Red, and it exists in two different versions, of which one seems to have been made in the north, the other in the west, of Iceland. The western version is the earlier and in some respects the better. It is found in two vellums, that of the great collection known as *Hauksbók* (AM. 544) and that which is simply known as AM. 557 from its catalogue number in Arni Magnusson's collection. Of these the former, which is the best preserved, was written in a beautiful hand by Hauk Erlendsson, between 1305 and 1334, the year of his death. This western version is the one which has generally been printed under the title, 'Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni. . .' The northern version is that which was made about the year 1387 by the priest Jón Thórdharson,* and contained in the famous compilation known as the *Flateyar-bók*, or 'Flat Island Book.' This priest was editing the saga of King Olaf Tryggvesson, which is contained in that compilation, and inasmuch as Leif

14 FISCHER, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.
15 REEVES, pp. 23, 54.
*Reeves writes this name in the English form Thordsson.

Ericsson's presence at King Olaf's court was connected both with the introduction of Christianity into Greenland and with the discovery of Vinland, Jón paused, after the manner of mediæval chroniclers, and inserted then and there what he knew about Eric and Leif and Thorfinn. In doing this, he used parts of the original saga of Eric the Red (as we find it reproduced in the western version), and added thereunto a considerable amount of material concerning the Vinland voyages derived from other sources. Jón's version thus made has generally been printed under the title 'Saga of Eric the Red'." [16]

We have seen in this brief survey the share that Catholic clergymen had in the authorship of the original sources of information upon the early Norse voyages. One of the main narratives, the Flatey Book, was compiled by two Catholic priests, John Thordsson and Magnus Thorallsson; Abbot Nicholas of Thingeyre was responsible for an early description of Vinland; three of the minor narratives are found in the works of a Catholic priest, Ari Thorgilsson the Wise; and the earliest foreigner to call attention to Vinland was Adam of Bremen, a canon and head of the cathedral school there.

HERBERMANN'S TORFAEUS

We pass now to modern writers upon the Norse voyages to America. Between the eleventh century, in which Adam of Bremen wrote, and the seventeenth a period of six hundred years passed in which no writer outside of Scandinavia made mention of them. "The first modern writer to call attention to the Icelandic voyages to Greenland and Vinland," says Fiske in his *Discovery of America*, "was Arngrim Jónsson in his *Crymogaea*, Hamburg, 1610, and more explicitly in his *Specimen Islandiae historicum*, Amsterdam, 1643. The voyages are also mentioned by Campanius in his *Kort beskrifning om provincien Nya Swerige uti America*, Stockholm, 1702. The first, however, to bring the subject prominently before European readers was that judicious scholar Thormodus Torfæus, in his two books *Historia Vinlandiae antiquae*, and *Historia Gronlandiæ antiquae*, Copenhagen, 1705 and 1706. Later writers have until very recently added but little that is important to the work of Torfæus." [17]

16 *Op. cit.* i. 198-9.
17 FISKE, *op. cit.*, i. 155n.-156n.

Torfæus' History of Ancient Vinland remained untranslated into English until 1888, when a translation[18] was made by Professor Charles G. Herbermann, with an introduction by John Gilmary Shea, both Catholic scholars. Dr. Shea, in his introduction, after mentioning Montanus (1671), Campanius (1702), and Peringskjold (1697), writes that Torfæus, a man well versed in the history of his native island . . . collected from the priestly and monastic writings all that was accessible in his day. Torfæus first proposed the statement of the length of the day as a means of fixing the position of Vinland, which he believed to be near Newfoundland." We shall see later that this early opinion as to the location of Vinland agrees closely with some modern views upon the subject. Dr. Shea states as his answer to the question, who were the Skrellings? "The Esquimaux held their own in Labrador in 1612 (Biard, 'Relation de la Nouvelle France') and in 1659 were still at war with the Micmacs of Gaspé (Relation, 1659). That they occupied the coast lower down before they were forced northward into Greenland would seem therefore, most probable." Professor Herbermann in his preface giving a sketch of the life and works of Torfæus, states that he was born on the island of Engoe off the north coast of Iceland in 1640. Educated in Copenhagen, he was appointed "royal interpreter" for northern antiquities when barely twenty years of age. In 1662 he was sent to Iceland "partly to perfect his knowledge of the ancient language of his native land, partly to gather Icelandish manuscripts for the royal library at Copenhagen." He later became curator of the Royal Cabinet of Antiquities but, having killed a man when attacked, he was condemned to death. Although pardoned, he lost his position in 1673, went to Norway and became royal historiographer to King Christian V. It was in that capacity that he wrote seven lengthy histories of northern countries, his History of Norway (1711) in four volumes, being his last work. His hitherto unpublished miscellaneous papers were printed in 1777.

Torfæus bases his work upon Hauk's Book and the Flatey Book; but for the first source he had access only to extracts con-

18 THORMOD TORFASON. *The History of Ancient Vinland;* tr. from the Latin of 1705 by Charles G. Herbermann. Appended to volume two of the United States Catholic Historical Magazine. New York, 1888. Also, New York, 1891.

tained in Bjorn of Skardsa's *History of Ancient Greenland.*[19] Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History of America* quite unaccountably says that the Flatey Book "seems to have been unknown to Torfæus." [20] On the contrary, in his preface Torfæus compares the narratives as they appear in the Codex Flateyensis with the statements of Bjorn of Skardsa and calls attention, thus early in the history of the Vinland problem, to discrepancies that are still exercising historians. Torfæus' comments are as follows: I. "The Codex Flateyensis relates that the new countries were seen but not entered by Bjarne the Icelander, that they were explored and endowed with names by Leif. Bjorn of Skardsa is silent concerning Bjarne, but the rest he admits; there is a slight difference of opinion whether Leif came to the new lands when returning from Norway or whether he sailed from Greenland especially in order to explore them. II. The Codex Flateyensis says that Thorvald, the son of Eric the Red, next visited them and was finally pierced with an arrow by the Skraelings. Bjorn tells a far less probable story, for he introduces the fabulous country of the Unipedes. III. The Codex Flateyensis says that after Thorvald's death his brother Thorstein undertook a voyage thither; Bjorn places that voyage before Thorvald's death. The Codex is more trustworthy, for it first tells of his wife's death, of the marriage contract, and lastly how she married Karlsefne. IV. The Codex Flateyensis described a third expedition to Vinland under the leadership of Karlsefne; the third, for Thorstein had not reached Vinland. Bjorn recounts the story more simply, yet he errs in counting Thorvald among his companions, for he had been previously slain; nor is it more worthy of belief that he gave their names to Markland and Helluland; to other places he certainly appears to have given names. V. The Codex Flateyensis alone relates the fourth voyage to Vinland, which Bjorn did not find mentioned in Hauk's book; and yet it is quite probable, for it was the last; and Freidis, the daughter of Eric the Red, seems to have

19 N. L. Beamish, *The Discovery of America by the Northmen.* London, 1841, p. 83.

20 Winsor, *op cit.* i. 92n. Reeves noticed this error (p. 97n). Torfæus uses a Latin title: Codex Flateyensis.

been present with both, and during the last to have become mad and to have acted in a ferocious way. . ." [21]

In his narrative of events Torfæus follows closely the sources that he has mentioned. Ever and anon he interpolates brief comments upon discrepancies between the different sagas or explanations of obscure terms or expressions.

The question as to the location of Vinland is handled by Torfæus very judiciously. "It must be sought," he says, "in that part of the North American continent where the productions here described grow or which the descriptions fit, and where the character of the country is found agreeing therewith; but whether these suit the character of the climate in which Estotiland lies according to the common opinion, I greatly doubt." [22] By Estotiland Torfæus means Labrador and by "common opinion" he refers to "Sanson d'Abbeville and more recent geographers." His reason for locating Vinland in Estotiland rests upon a passage in the Flatey Book saga which he translates as follows: "In winter the day were longer than in Iceland or Greenland, the sun rose about nine o'clock at the time of the winter solstice and set at three o'clock. (That they were not very exact in this observation is proved by the fertility of the country and the character of the climate; for nowhere else at 50°26′ from the equator, when the longest day is eighteen hours and the shortest six, is such fertility known to prevail. For with them the parts of the day* consisted of three hours; but they did not accurately distinguish them in these parts)." [23] Although he says he was sustained in this interpretation by what he learned in 1662 from Brynjolf Svenonson "the most learned of the bishops of Skalholt up to his own time," [24] Torfæus was led to re-examine the question with a view of ascertaining the exact meaning of the Icelandic word "eykt." The passage in which the word "eykt" occurs, translated literally from the original Icelandic, reads as follows: "on the shortest day of winter the sun was up between 'eyktarstad' and 'dagmalastad'." [25] In an

21 TORFAEUS, *op. cit.*, preface, pp. 9-10.
22 TORFAEUS, pref., p. 10.
*The Norsemen divided the natural day of twenty-four hours into eight parts, each covering three hours.
23 TORFAEUS, p. 28.
24 TORFAEUS, p. 76.
25 REEVES, p. 66.

ancient work on canon law of the Icelanders he came across a rule that work before the Sunday should cease at the Eykt hour; "by eykt is meant the time when the heavens between south and west are divided into three parts and the sun has completed two parts," in other words four o'clock in the afternoon. "If then," he continues, "the words 'eykt' and 'non' mean the same thing and signify the fourth hour, 'dagmal' is not nine o'clock but must be advanced to eight o'clock, and consequently Vinland lies under the forty-ninth degree, and its shortest day measures eight hours; and this position certainly fits its products better than the position of Estotiland. . . This being settled, everything is consistent and we recognize in the land. . . Terre Neuve or Terra Nova (Newfoundland) . . . the ancient Vinland." [26] It is interesting to note that when, nearly two hundred years later, Reeves submitted to Captain R. L. Pythian, superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory, Washington, the definition of 'eykt' quoted by Torfæus, and asked the astronomer to calculate the latitude of the country, the latter's reply was: "the explorers could not have been, when the record was made, further north than Lat. (say) 49°." "That is to say," writes Reeves, "Wineland may have been somewhat farther to the south than northern Newfoundland, or the corresponding Canadian coast, but if we rely upon the accuracy of this astronomical observation, it is clear that *thus far south it must have been.*" [27] This conclusion has not been impugned by any later writers; but the possibility of inaccuracy in the observation has led some authorities to locate Vinland more to the south and even as far south as Massachusetts or Rhode Island.

RAFN AND HIS FOLLOWERS

Various writers — Scandinavian, German and American — treated of the Norse voyages to America in the hundred and thirty years following the time of Torfæus, either in special treatises or incidentally in works on early America. Carl Christian Rafn (1795-1864), a Danish antiquary, in his *Antiquitates Americanae* (Copenhagen, 1837, folio) "for the first time," says Winsor, "put the mass of original Norse documents before the student, and with a larger accumulation of proofs than had

26 TORFAEUS, pp. 77-79.
27 REEVES, p. 185.

ever been adduced before, he commented on the narratives and came to conclusions respecting traces of their occupancy to which few will adhere to-day." [28] These texts and opinions were made available in an English translation issued in New York in 1838 and by N. L. Beamish in *The Discovery of America by the Northmen in the Tenth Century* (London, 1841). The most frequently quoted work in which these Icelandic Sagas are presented, however, has been until late years Dr. Benjamin Franklin De Costa's *The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen* (Albany, 1868. Second ed. Albany, 1890. Third ed. Albany, 1901). Dr. De Costa, for many years an Episcopal clergyman of New York City, became Catholic in 1899. Although he cannot be classed as a Catholic contributor to the literature on this subject, yet in one passage he expressed himself in a way that is significant of his attitude toward the Church. Referring apparently to a work by Marie A. Shipley, *The Icelandic Discovery of America* (New York, 1890), in which extracts are printed from various writings by Catholic authorities, indicating "suppressed historical facts," Dr. De Costa writes (of himself): "The author does not find evidence of any plan or even any desire on the part of the authorities of the Roman Church to suppress knowledge of the Icelandic voyages in order to exalt Columbus." [29] After his conversion he lectured on the Norse discoveries before Catholic societies.

In his work mentioned above, De Costa included translations of "every portion of the Icelandic sagas relating to the pre-Columbian Discovery of America and the steps by which that discovery was preceded. The reader will, therefore, find in this volume material from the sagas not be found in any other work in an English form." [30] Referring to the twenty years that had elapsed since his first edition appeared, he writes "Time has only served to strengthen (the author's) belief in the historical characters of the Sagas, while all his geographical studies point now as formerly to New England as the scene of the Northmen's exploits, many of which have left no record though valuable traces of Icelandic occupation may yet be found between Cape

28 WINSOR, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 94.
29 DE COSTA, *Pre-Columbian Disc.*, 2d ed., p. 56n.
30 DE COSTA, 2d ed., p. 5 pref.

Cod and Nova Scotia." [31] No such traces, however, have yet been found.

THE WORK OF MOOSMÜLLER, THE BENEDICTINE

The next author to be mentioned is Father Oswald Moosmüller, of the Order of St. Benedict, the earliest Catholic author in modern times to write a special treatise on the early Norsemen in America. Fr. Moosmüller's book is entitled: *Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus, nach Quellen bearbeitet* (Regensburg, 1879). The work, in spite of its German title and provenance, is dedicated to Rt. Rev. William H. Gross, Bishop of Savannah.* The author gives as the reason for writing upon a subject so well covered by Professor Rafn, the fact that the Catholic aspects of the subject had not been sufficiently presented, especially the missions that he believes were conducted in Greenland by members of the Benedictine order.

The itinerary of the Norse voyages is taken mostly from Rafn, whose conclusions regarding the places visited by the Norsemen are largely followed by Fr. Moosmüller. As these identifications are in a way classic, although challenged by many later writers, they may well be summarized here, especially as our author has confirmed them by his own researches.

The three lands which, according to the Flatey Book, were seen in succession by Biarni and were later found and named by Leif, are identified as follows: Helluland was Newfoundland, Markland was Nova Scotia, and Vinland was in southern New England. In defining more closely the location of Leif's Booths we may quote Fr. Moosmüller's text: "Leif put out to sea from Markland (Cape Sable or Biarney) sailing with a northeast wind for two whole days before he saw land again. With this favorable wind he sailed about sixty Danish (two hundred and forty English) miles and so must have passed Nantucket Island in such a direction that he could say, as he sighted the island, that it lay to the north, inasmuch as he was now laying his course northward.* He sailed into the bay which separates this

31 De Costa, p. 6 pref.

*Fr. Moosmüller was for a time stationed in the Benedictine house at Skidaway Island near Savannah.

*Fr. Moosmüller by this explanation ingeniously gets around an objection that has been made to Rafn's version that the island lay to the *eastward* of the land whereas the saga says distinctly that it lay to the northward.

island from the headland that extends from the land in a northerly direction. He steered west and passed between Nantucket Island and Cape Cod—or Barnstable, as the land forming the peninsula is named—as far as Vineyard Sound. All of the manuscripts followed (by the author) speak in this passage of the tongue of land and of the long stretches of sand along the shore. They called it Kiarlarnes (Keelness or Keel Point) and the neighboring coasts Furdustrandir (Wonder-Strands)."[32] Straumfirth, the first stopping-place of Karlsefni's expedition, was at the entrance of Buzzard's Bay, where an island now named Egg Island divides the strong current caused by the Gulf Stream. Krossanes (Cross Point), where Thorvald was buried, was either Gurnet Point north of Plymouth on the west coast of Cape Cod Bay, or Point Allerton in Boston Harbor.

Hóp, the place where Leif built his "Booths" and where Karlsefni later erected his dwellings a little above the bay, was located in Rhode Island. "The word Hóp in Icelandic may denote a small recess or bay, formed by a river from the interior falling into an inlet from the sea, or the land bordering on such a bay. To this Mount Hope's Bay or Mont Haup's Bay, as the Indians term it, corresponds, through which the Taunton River flows and by means of a very narrow yet navigable river, Pocasset River, meets the approaching water of the ocean at its exit at Seaconnet"—so Rafn says,[33] and Fr. Moosmüller evidently translates his language. This portion of New England extending from the vicinity of Boston on the north to Nantucket Island on the south, and from Cape Cod westward to Narragansett Bay, was Vinland according to Rafn and later writers who have followed his views.

Whatever we may think about these attempts to identify the precise spots mentioned in the sagas, they are by no means without support, even from some recent and entirely competent writers.* Granting that Thorvald really reached Point Allerton and exclaimed "It is a fair region here and here I should like to make my home," the reader may perhaps pardon me for con-

32 Moosmüller, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

33 C. C. Rafn, *America Discovered in the Tenth Century* (New York, 1838), p. 19.

*Hovgaard believes that Leif reached Massachusetts; Babcock believes that Karlsefni's Hop was in southern New England. (Geog. Rev. Apr. 1921.)

firming Thorvald's description of a spot upon which I stood last summer and surveyed the scene. On the east the broad Atlantic lies below the eye extending to the far horizon; on the southeast the long rollers of surf beat upon the miles of white sand forming the famous Nantasket Beach; to the north is Boston Harbor dotted with green isles between which lies the course of the great ocean liners; to the west the horizon is formed by the wooded heights of the Blue Hills. It is indeed a spot of entrancing beauty.

Fr. Moosmüller in his preface writes of extended researches in the libraries of Europe and America, presumably on the more distinctly religious aspects of his subject, especially the missionary work of the Order to which he belongs. "The missionary work of the Catholic Church in these lands," he says, speaking of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, Greenland and Vinland, "was entrusted to the Benedictines as indeed were almost all the efforts of that time to convert the heathen." [34] In several chapters he sketches the establishment of churches, monasteries and schools in Iceland and Greenland, all of these institutions being in the hands of the Benedictine order. In response to a request made in 1055 by emissaries from Iceland, Greenland and the Orkneys, asking for clergy to be sent to these regions, Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, in whose jurisdiction they lay, sent out to Greenland Bishop Albert, who established his see at Gardar where fourteen of his successors later resided. The line came to an end with Bishop Andreas III in 1461. We have already noted the reference in the Icelandic Annals, under the year 1121, to a Bishop Eric who went in search of Vinland. "Later critics," says Professor Storm, "have without exception recorded the voyage as a missionary undertaking, and this is no doubt the right construction." [35] There are strong reasons, however, for doubting that any Norse settlements ever maintained their existence on the American mainland.[36]

The author has several learned chapters dealing with the problem of the date when Christianity was introduced into Ice-

34 Moosmüller, p. vii.
35 Gustav Storm. *Studies on the Vineland Voyages* (*in Memoires de la Societe Royale des Antiquaires du Nord.*, n. s. 1888, p. 331).
36 Cf. Fiske. *The Discovery of America*, i. 215-220.

land and Greenland, and with the semi-legendary accounts of other early voyagers who are said to have reached America. He says perhaps all that can be said in favor of the Norse origin of the Newport Stone Mill, Dighton Rock, and other supposed Norse relics. Later writers maintain that these claims are unsupported by evidence sufficient to carry conviction.

MONSIGNOR DE ROO'S PRE-COLUMBIAN AMERICA

The next author within our scope to treat of the Norse voyages was Reverend, later Monsignor, P. De Roo,* in his work entitled: *History of America before Columbus according to Documents and Approved Authors* (Philadelphia, 1900. 2 vols.) The work is very comprehensive, the author having used a large number of authorities whom he cites by precise page references, many of them being works unfamiliar to the average reader. The bibliography includes titles of forty-four manuscript records consulted by him in the Vatican and other libraries in Rome; the printed literature referred to covers 250 titles while, outside of these references, are the names of other authors quoted. The scope of the work covers much more than the Norse voyages obviously; yet his treatment of the subject deserves a place in this survey of Catholics who have contributed their share to the history of the Norse voyages. The method of the author is inclusive rather than critical; he is willing to let the student form his own opinion as to the value for purposes of history of the many passages and statements of opinions quoted or restated by him. When there is a difference of opinion, "let the learned decide"—he is fond of saying. The student, should, therefore, rather welcome than contemn the many legendary or doubtful stories and speculations that to the critic may seem open to question; nowhere else will the critic find the material more conveniently brought together for him to study and sift as he wishes, especially the history of the Catholic Church in Greenland.

The portion of the work on Greenland and the Norse voyages to Vinland covers 340 pages, and this not inclusive of many original documents quoted in the appendix. There are also

*Msgr. De Roo, according to the title-page of his book, was a member of the Archaeological Club of the Land of Van Waes, and of the United States Catholic Historical Society; also honorary member of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. He died in 1926.

chapters on the "Irish in America" before the Norsemen, in which some side issues are discussed.** In his identifications of localities Msgr. De Roo largely follows Rafn.

As we have just finished outlining the views of Professor Rafn in connection with the identification by Father Moosmüller of the localities reached by the Norsemen, we need not repeat what Msgr. De Roo has to say upon the subject. These views, as we have said, have been severely criticized in recent years. Yet such are the perplexities of the problem that while Storm puts Vinland in Nova Scotia, Hovgaard believes that Leif reached the shore of Massachusetts Bay; and Babcock agrees with Rafn in placing Hóp on Mount Hope Bay in Rhode Island. The difficulty always is to find localities that fit, in all the details, the descriptions given in the sagas and may be reconciled with the length and direction of the voyages as given us in those narratives. We have to assume, moreover, the reliability of these items, which are largely traditional, and to postulate their inherent consistency—assumptions that are by no means certain.

Msgr. De Roo's work was reviewed by Professor Charles G. Herbermann, noticed above as the translator of Torfæus' Ancient Vinland. He was for many years professor of Latin at the College of the City of New York and when the United States Catholic Historical Society was revived in 1898 he became the president and editor of its "Historical records and studies," to which he contributed his review of De Roo (vol. 2, p. 478-495, Aug. 1901) "Every page of his History," he writes, "shows that he has carefully analyzed the statements of his authorities. . . What is more, while he has placed before the reader a clear and readable abstract of many of these questions, he has in some instances given us a fuller statement of the facts and a more complete collection of documents that we find in any other writer." This is especially true of his very full treatment of the Norse settlements in Greenland. Msgr. De Roo spent many years in Rome carefully searching the Vatican archives for documents dealing with the history of Greenland and his work, Herbermann says, may be assumed to contain all the papers he found there throwing light on that, the first European settle-

**Dealing with a supposed part of America called "Ireland the Great" or "White-Men's Land."

ment in America. On one point, however, Professor Herbermann quite disagrees with Msgr. De Roo and that is regarding the genuineness of the diploma of Emperor Louis the Pious (834 A. D.) and of a number of documents connected with this diploma, especially the bull of Pope Gregory IV dated 835 A. D. In one of the copies of these documents, of which the originals are lost, occurs a mention of Greenland and Vinland—one hundred and fifty years, be it noted, before Eric the Red reached Greenland as its first colonist. "To accept the genuineness of the versions of the diploma and the bull containing the disputed words (as does Msgr. De Roo) is dealing a death blow to the veracity of the Icelandic sagas. If their statement regarding the Icelandic discovery of Greenland and Vinland is a romance, how can we trust them on points on which they are wholly unconfirmed by other evidence?"

FATHER FISCHER'S CARTOGRAPHICAL WORK

The publication of Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanae* in 1837 was epoch-making in that it first brought before the learned world practically all the records to be found in Icelandic literature relating to these voyages. The *Studies on the Vinland Voyages* by Professor Storm, published in 1887, marked another epoch in that he endeavored by critical comparison of all the available material to determine its relative value. Then came Arthur Middleton Reeves' sumptuous volume, *The Finding of Wineland the Good* (London, 1890) in which he gave texts and facsimile reproductions of the original manuscripts of the principal Icelandic sagas containing the accounts, accompanied by critical and explanatory comments. The cartographical aspect of the case, which had been treated to some extent by Winsor, received study from new angles through the discoveries and critical research of Reverend Joseph Fischer, professor of geography in the Jesuit College, Feldkirch, Austria. The work of Father Fischer appeared first as a supplement to the scholarly Jesuit perodical Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, 1902. An English Version, entitled *The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America with special relation to their cartographical representation* (London, 1903) was made by Basil H. Soulsby of the British Museum Library. This English translation contains a fuller bibliography than the German edition. "Hofrath Dr. von

Weisen induced the author," we are told in the preface, "to make further inquiry into the discoveries of the Norsemen in America." Fr. Fischer's standing in the learned world is attested by the wide attention that his cartographical researches have received following the discovery by him of a most important map—the long-lost large world map of 1507 made by Martin Waldseemüller, the cartographer who first used the name "America" as applied to the western world; on this map the name appears for the first time. He also discovered the *Carta Marina* of the same cartographer, covering some 24 large folio sheets. These maps were found while he was engaged in examining old maps at Castle Wolfegg. "This early discovery," he writes, "was remarkable if only for its bearing on the maps of the discoveries made by the Norsemen as well as on their relation to later discoveries of Columbus and his successors." [37] Professor Storm indicated his appreciation of Fr. Fischer by presenting him with a complete set of his writings.

Fr. Fischer has a very comprehensive knowledge of the literature of his subject. In his main conclusions regarding the sources and in the historical reconstruction of the sagas he largely follows Storm and Reeves who have, he writes, "established the fact that we need only consider three Sagas. If we base our arrangement on the date of the copies, the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni in the Book of Hauk, about 1305-1335, comes first. Next comes the Saga of King Olaf in the Flatey Book about 1387; and then comes the third, the Saga of Eric the Red, in a copy in the early part of the 15th century. . . The Saga of Eric the Red comes third as regards the date of the copy but Storm traces it back to a source prior to the Book of Hauk; and at any rate it is independent of the other two authorities and gives an account at first hand of the discoveries of America by the Norsemen." [38] The significance of these rather tiresome details is that by this method we reach a reliable account of the Vinland voyages, according to these authorities, who hold that any reconciliation of the fundamental discrepancies in the narratives is impossible;* yet this difference does not indicate that the accounts

37 FISCHER, *op. cit.*, pref., p. vii.
38 FISCHER, p. 13.
*WILLIAM HOVGAARD, however, in his *Voyages of the Norsemen to America* (New York, 1914) holds that both accounts are historic and of equal value.

are thereby shown to be unhistorical, as some critics* would have us believe. The outcome of these inquiries is thus stated by Fr. Fischer: "in the Book of Hauk, Leif the Son of Eric the Red discovered Wineland by chance in the year 1000, on the way home from Norway, when he was carrying out the commission of King Olaf to spread the Gospel in Greenland. In the Flatey Book the honor is assigned to Bjarne, the son of Herjulf, who was searching for his father in Greenland; and he is said as early as 985 or 986 to have sailed from Iceland and discovered the countries known later as Wineland, Markland, and Helluland. So the Flatey Book gives quite a different account, both from the 12th century geographer, who plainly states that Leif was the first to discover Wineland, and also from the Kristni and Snorri King's Saga, who specify Leif as the discoverer of Wineland the Good in the same year as King Olaf of Norway sent him to introduce Christianity into Greenland. The earliest authorities thus contradict the version of the Flatey Book, while they entirely corroborate the Sagas of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Eric the Red, or in short the account in the Book of Hauk." [39] Other marks of unreliability to be seen in the Flatey Book are: "large glaciers in Helluland, in Wineland wondrous vines discovered in winter, (grapes) gathered in spring, their juice is intoxicating, the vine stalks are mighty trees felled afterwards for building purposes." [40]

In regard to the identification of places reached by the Norsemen Fr. Fischer follows Storm. "Helluland, which takes its name from the long flat stones which attracted the special attention of the discoverers, corresponds with the present Labrador, although the northern peninsula of Newfoundland is not excluded. The hardy navigators came from Helluland in two further *doegr*, i. e. in twice twelve hours, to Markland, whose density of woods astonished them. The Country of the Wood was reached 'with a northerly wind.' The direction and duration of the voyage, as well as the definition Country of the Wood, answer to Newfoundland. The third country, in conclusion, which was

*E. g. JUSTIN WINSOR; HAYNES and GOODELL (Massachusetts Historical Society Committee); J. P. MACLEAN; and for this and other reasons, Frithjof Nansen.

39 FISCHER, p. 13-14.

40 FISCHER, p. 17.

met with after a long voyage in a southerly direction and which owed its enticing name of Wineland the Good to its abundance of wild grapes, is the present Nova Scotia in conjunction with Cape Breton... We may safely assume with Storm and Ruge that the Skraelings of Wineland were 'Indian hunters'." [41]

"The cartographical representations," he says, "have only of late years been valued at their true weight owing to the important discoveries of Professor Von Weiser and Nordenskiöld." [42] Father Fischer does not mention himself; but in numerous contributions to periodicals and transactions of learned societies, as well as in a special chapter of the work we are examining, he has written of the maps showing the arctic regions, before and shortly after the time of Columbus, with a wealth of bibliographical learning that fairly bewilders the ordinary reader of his pages. Professor Herbermann, in his review of the German original of Father Fischer's work (in *Historical records and studies*, vol. 3, p. 185-204, Jan. 1903) has beautifully simplified the cartographical section. Briefly stated, the points made by Father Fischer in his discussion of these maps are these: A Danish mathematician named Claudius Niger, also called Claudius Cimbricus, while sojourning in Italy in 1423-1424, drew a map supplementing the Ptolemy Geography. On this map Greenland appears occupying its proper position *west* of Iceland, although it is represented as a peninsula of Europe connected with northwestern Russia. Another type of Ptolemy supplementary maps, printed at Ulm in 1482 and 1486 and known as the Donis type, shows Greenland as lying to the north and *east* of Iceland. The original manuscript of this type of map was unknown until it was discovered by Father Fischer at Castle Wolfegg. This manuscript was the work of Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, who according to the researches of Father Fischer, was a Benedictine monk who came to Florence in 1466. Helluland, Markland and Vinland do not appear on maps until they were represented by Sigurd Stephanius in 1570.

Fridtjof Nansen, in his work entitled *In Northern Mists* (London, 1911, 2 vols.) while admitting as an historical fact that the Norsemen reached the American continent, dismissed the details

41 FISCHER, pp. 96-97, 99.
42 FISCHER, p. 56.

of their voyages as mere repetitions of medieval legends. Yet this extremely skeptical attitude of a distinguished traveler and scholar seems only to have spurred students of the subject to attack its problems anew with all the resources of science as well as of literary criticism. William Hovgaard, late a commander in the Danish Navy, whose work* we have already had occasion to mention, undertook to examine the whole subject anew. Being an expert upon shipbuilding, his chapters on the ships and navigation of the Norsemen are especially noteworthy and his conclusions, based upon study of the voyages from a sailor's point of view, are important. "For a full understanding of the accounts of the sagas," he writes in his preface, "it is necessary to keep in view both the shortcomings and the advantages under which the Norsemen labored as seamen and navigators. . . It is essential, moreover, to study carefully the geography as well as the hydrographic and climatic conditions of the coasts of America which the Norsemen are likely to have visited." To aid the reader in comparing the descriptions of the places mentioned in the sagas with similiar points on the Atlantic coast the author has included 84 pictures and maps, a feature not before found in treatises on the subject except in the form of illustrations in earlier works. Andrew Fossum, in his *The Norse Discovery of America* (Minneapolis, 1918) has reproduced photographs taken by himself on visits made to many of the spots that he believes were reached by the Norsemen on the St. Lawrence River, and on the east coast of Labrador and Newfoundland.

REV. HENRY HARRINGTON'S ARTICLE

The latest contribution in our field is an article in the Jesuit quarterly Thought for June, 1927, written by the Rev. Henry Harrington, M. A., lecturer on church history at St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, England, entitled *The Norse Discovery of America.* Fr. Harrington has presented the evidence for the

*HOVGAARD'S *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America* forms volume I of Scandinavian Monographs published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, an organization to which all students of Scandinavian literature and history are indebted for some very excellent works. The complete translations of the Elder Edda and of the Prose Edda, issued by the Foundation, are alone boons of which we cannot be too appreciative. No adequate idea of Norse mythology and of the ancient beliefs that permeated the life of this people, traces of which appear even in the historical sagas, can be formed until one reads these venerable literary monuments.

Norse voyages according to the most approved canons of historical research. As his evidence is in a way a summary of conclusions that may be deemed certain, it may fittingly conclude this survey of the Catholic contribution to the history of the Vinland problem. There are, the author says, four groups of sources: (1) certain clear statements in definitely historical documents; (2) two sagas (Hauk's Book and the Arna-Magnaean ms. 557); (3) the story as given in the Flatey Book; and (4) references in various documents, the relevance of which is doubtful. "Of these groups the first two are the most important, and give us the best evidence. 'Flateyjarbók' gives perhaps the best-known account and has been preferred to 'Hauksbók.' But scholarly opinion to-day decidedly prefers 'Hauksbók.' Hence, if we accept the conclusions of recent scholars, we must base our story on the first two groups, and use the last two only to fill in the picture." [43]

The strictly historical sources are: (1) Adam of Bremen's reference (11th cent.) to an "island. . . called Wineland, because vines grow wild there and from which comes excellent wine"; (2) The reference in the Libellus Islandorum (12th century abstract of Ari the Wise's Icelanders' Book) to the Skraelings and Wineland; (3) Landnama Book (12th cent.) mention of Karlsefni who discovered "Wineland the Good"; (4) Kristni Saga (12th cent.) statement that "Leif discovered Wineland the Good"; (5) Snorri Sturlason's Heimskringla mention of Leif sailing for Greenland to preach Christianity there "and then he discovered Vinland the Good"; (6) Icelandic geographical works representing the state of Icelandic knowledge during the middle ages, the evidence of these works being that Leif discovered the country and Karlsefni made an unsuccessful attempt to settle there, and that south of Greenland come the following countries, Helluland, Markland and Wineland; (7) Eyrbyggja Saga which tells of Snorri Thorbrandsson's journey to Wineland with Karlsefni; (8) Icelandic annals referring to Eric, known to be a bishop of Greenland, who set out in 1121 to rediscover Wineland and was never heard from afterwards; and under date of 1347, a mention of seventeen Greenlanders who were driven ashore in Iceland after a trip to Markland. "This finishes the first group

43 HARRINGTON, pp. 6-7.

of sources. In the teeth of this," remarks Fr. Harrington, "it is simply impossible to deny the fact of discovery. These documents are not legendary; they are, as far as their authors could make them, sober and often inexpressibly dull history. This dullness is incidentally testimony to their gravity." [44] As an example of what a Norseman could do when he wanted to lie, he relates an incident in the life of St. Magnus; "no story that I know in hagiography can equal that for sheer audacity."

The second group of sources comprises the two sagas of Eric the Red given in Hauk's Book and AM. ms. 557. These Fr. Harrington translates in part directly from the Icelandic text. "Except in (one) quotation," he writes, "I have thought it advisable to make my own translations." [45] Discussion of other sources, he writes, "must be postponed perhaps to another article"; nor does he go into the question of location.

Thus we end our survey of the contribution that Catholics have made to the record and interpretation of the Norse voyages to America in the opening years of the eleventh century. Catholic priests compiled some of the Icelandic works that are the original sources of our knowledge of these events; the most popular account of the Norse discovery of America was perhaps the work of Dr. De Costa who rebuked the anti-Catholic charges of "papal suppression of documents" relating to the Norse discovery and who in late life became a convert to the Catholic Church; Msgr. De Roo in his chapters on the Norse voyages made a survey of the works of older authorities, many of them obscure and inaccessible to the ordinary reader; a Benedictine, Fr. Moosmüller, in his survey of the subject brought out especially the missionary labors of the members of his Order in the evangelization of Greenland; a learned cartographer, the Jesuit, Fr. Fischer, has not only written a scholarly work upon the cartography of the subject but is famous as the discoverer of the earliest map on which appears the name "America"; the very latest article on the subject has been written by a Catholic priest, Fr. Harrington, who has assembled what he deems unassailable

44 HARRINGTON, p. 14.
45 HARRINGTON, p. 24n.

historical data on which may be based our assurance that the Norsemen reached the coast of North America.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.
The Newberry Library
Chicago

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.—The literature treating of the early voyages of the Norsemen to America is very voluminous; the present writer has a list of nearly one thousand titles. The bibliographies of the subject are none of them exhaustive; although one supplements another to some extent. Paul Barron Watson's "Bibliography of the pre-Columbian discoveries of America," originally published in the Library Journal, vi. 259, was enlarged and as such included in Rasmus B. Anderson's "America not Discovered by Columbus" (Chicago, 1883), pp. 124-140. Justin Winsor, in the chapter on pre-Columbian explorations of his "Narrative and Critical History of America," volume one, reviews "such contributions as have been in some way significant" (Critical notes on the sources of information," *op. cit.* i. 87-107, Boston, 1889). Halldór Hermannsson, custodian of the Fiske Icelandic collection in Cornell University Library, prepared a "Bibliography of the Icelandic sagas and minor tales," including of course the original narratives of the Vinland voyages, which was issued as Islandica, vol. 1; and another bibliography entitled "The Northmen in America," issued as volume 2 of the same serial (Ithaca, 1908-09). Reeves gives no bibliography, but special treatises on the Norse voyages that have appeared in the present century usually have lists of authorities: e. g. William Hovgaard, "The Voyages of the Norsemen to America" (New York, 1914), p. 279-285; Andrew Fossom, "The Norse Discovery of America" (Minneapolis, 1918), p. 158; Colonel Langlois, "La découverte de l'Amérique pars les Normands vers l'an 1000" (Paris, 1924), pp. 163-164. Titles of books and of articles in periodicals that have appeared each year since 1909 may be traced by the aid of "Writings on American History," included in the Annual reports of the American Historical Association (Washington). Histories of America and of the United States, so far as they give lists of authorities usually include titles of books on the Norse voyages.

THE SO-CALLED COUNCIL OF WHITBY, 664 A. D.*

In the year 664 a meeting of bishops, kings, and other prominent personages took place in the noble monastery of Whitby in the Kingdom of Northumbria. Its purpose was to decide a controversy which had been discussed in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms for three decades and which had gradually assumed the character of a burning question. There had been no unity in fixing the date of the greatest feast of Christianity. Easter was celebrated by two parties according to different calculations. I shall try to make clear the cause of the difference, and show how the matter was finally settled. There will be added by the way of supplement a discussion of the character of the Whitby meeting, of the source of its authority, and the results which it produced.[1]

In 596 A. D. St. Augustine and his companions, sent by St. Gregory I, the Great, arrived in Kent to begin the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. In 625 St. Paulinus, consecrated bishop by St. Augustine's successor, traveled to Northumbria, accompanying the King of Kent's sister, Ethelberga, who was to be married to King Edwin. For eight years St. Paulinus, assisted by the king and queen worked effectively for the conversion of Northumbria, until an alliance of two mighty kings deprived King Edwin of life and kingdom. In 633 Paulinus, with Queen Ethelberga fled back to Kent. Two years later Oswald, scion of a royal line related to that of Edwin, returned from the North with an army, recovered all Northumbria, and introduced Irish missionaries whose acquaintance he had made in Scotland.[2] The headquarters of these missionaries was Jona, the great foundation of St. Columba, and the spiritual capital of Scotland. Iona was the citadel of Irish monasticism on the Island of Britain, the home of virtue both private and apostolic. The *Scoti* differed, however, in some points from the religious practices of the continent of

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* Address delivered at the Convention of the Jesuit Historical Association, August, 1927, Chicago, Ill.

1 St. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, in particular Book III, Chapter 25. Plummer's Edition. Clarendom Press. 1896. Practically the only source as to the history of the event. Franz Rühl, *Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Berlin, 1897; consulted on the origin and progress of the Easter controversy.

2 After the example of St. Bede, to whom we owe nearly all our knowledge of these affairs, I shall often refer to these missionaries as *Scoti*, not because they actually came from Scotland, but because at that time this was the name of the Irish, Ireland being designated either as *Hibernia* or as *Scotia*.

Europe. The most important of these differences was the Easter computation.

The question concerning the celebration of Easter had been agitated from the beginnings of the Church. A small party insisted on placing it on the same date with the Jews. This came to be looked upon as a formal heresy, and the adherents of this practice, called *Quartodecimani*, eventually separated themselves from the Church. But even beside this extreme view there remained other dissensions in the Church. The Calculation of the Easter date was by no means uniform. The decision of the Council of Nicaea, 325 A. D., that Easter should be celebrated on the first Sunday after the first full moon of spring (i. e. after the 21 of March), did not at once produce unity. Several unsatisfactory attempts were made to construct an "Easter Cycle," that is, a series of years after the elapse of which Easter would again fall upon the same date in the same succession. Easter Cycles were proposed at Alexandria, in Asia Minor, in Gaul. Just two hundred years after the Council of Nicaea, in 525, the Italian monk, Dionysius Exiguus, devised a method which seemed to answer all demands and was very soon officially adopted by the Apostolic See. Dionysius' method improved the Alexandrian Cycle which had always been favored at Rome and had enjoyed the widest popularity.[3] Let us remember that this was done some seventy years before St. Augustine set out for Britain. For him and his fellow-missionaries the Dionysian calculation was the only correct one. By Augustine's time it had acquired full and exclusive domestic rights in the Church of Rome, and was used practically all over the continent. This was the Easter computation which he took along to Britain and which was followed in all the monasteries and churches founded by him and his disciples. The Anglo-Saxons who were converted by these Roman missionaries knew of no other.

It was different with the Celtic Christians of the British Isles, both the Bretons in Britannia, and the Irish. They

3 It was on this occasion that Dionysius introduced the counting of the years after the Birth of Christ. Dionysius did not work out a complete Cycle of Easter dates. He determined them as far as the year 725 A. D. When his list was near running out, St. Bede the Venerable constructed a complete Cycle of 532 years, based upon Dionysius' principles. It reached as far as 1063. All the later medieval Easter calculations are based upon this Cycle of St. Bede. (St. Bede lived 673-735.)

followed a Paschal computation of an earlier date. Their Easter was regulated by a Cycle of eighty-four years, which had originated in Asia Minor. The new Roman method fixed definitely in 525, i. e. nearly a hundred years after the time of St. Patrick, had not come to their knowledge. The great disturbances caused by the Wandering of Nations had upset conditions on the continent. Communication was almost completely interrupted between the continent and the British Isles. Hence the Island Celts retained the method they employed before these disturbances began.

When the Irish monks from Iona, under the leadership of St. Aidan, entered the Anglo-Saxon mission field, they brought with them their eighty-four year Cycle, and taught it their numerous converts. The two methods thus entered into the same sphere. The Roman missionaries calculated the Easter date according to the Roman, the Irish according to their own manner. And since missionaries of both classes were present in most of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, this necessarily led to bewilderment and confusion in many places. This was the more deplorable since the population was not yet fully converted. The people were still in a rude intellectual state, and, like all such nations, attached much importance to exterior things.

It is well, however, to state explicitly that the work of Christianization does not seem to have suffered much during this period. The Irish missionaries and bishops in particular were highly esteemed for their personal virtue and apostolic zeal.

It was above all in Northumbria, the northernmost kingdom, that the two systems were bound to come to a clash. Here the Irish monks had begun their work, having been invited by King Oswald. Here they had established their central monastery, Lindisfarne, which was to be another Iona. Most of the Christian Northumbrians, including the royal family, were their spiritual children. At the same time the Roman Easter had its representatives. When St. Paulinus was forced to flee, his deacon James remained at York and continued his missionary activity, adhering of course to the Roman Easter. Travellers returned from the continent with the news that the whole world celebrated Easter according to a different computation. An Irish missionary, Ronan, visited Rome and came back as an ardent advocate

of the Roman method of calculation. Though his efforts had only a limited amount of success with his countrymen, they served to increase the desire for unity, and to encourage a deeper study of the question. Very great was the influence of St. Wilfrid, an Anglo-Saxon, the Abbot of Ripon. After being educated by the *Scoti* at Lindisfarne a long sojourn on the continent had changed him like Ronan into a determined champion of the Roman custom. More than all this, the royal family was now divided into two camps. King Oswiu adhered to the Irish method. Queen Eanfleda, who had been educated in strictly Roman Kent and had brought with her as chaplain a priest Romanus, celebrated Easter on the Roman date. Alchfrid, the royal heir, assumed by Oswiu as co-regent, followed the example of his mother, and was encouraged by Abbot Wilfrid, his intimate friend.

How confusing the matter had become will best be seen by a glance at the list of the actual Easter dates. The Irish missionaries had come in 635. Between that date and 664, the date which interests us, Easter had been celebrated every year on two different dates, with the exception of only three years, 638, 655, and 658. As a rule the Celtic Easter was a week earlier, but four times it fell several weeks later than the Roman. Practically, therefore, during this quarter of a century one party was still observing Lent while the other sang the Easter Alleluja. The different Easter dates affected the whole of Lent including Holy Week, and the feasts of Ascension and Pentecost. It is somewhat amusing to think of the conditions in the royal kitchen, where the Easter banquet had to be prepared for one party while the other demanded Lenten fare.[4]

The Roman Easter seems to have been gaining ground. Its chief champion was St. Wilfrid. To him is probably due the determined stand made by the Roman party in the King's family. King Oswiu's implicit confidence in the correctness of his beloved Irish teachers had become shaky. He wanted the matter decided.

So an assembly was called to meet at the famous monastery of Whitby, over which presided the abbess Hilda, a lady distinguished by royal family connections, exemplary virtue, and practical wisdom. The most prominent personages in the gathering

4 The Sundays in Lent then were days of abstinence.

were the following: On the side of the Irish King Oswiu (himself), Abbot-Bishop Colman of Lindisfarne with a number of his clerics, Hilda the abbess, and Cedd, Bishop of Sussex, himself a Saxon, but trained by the Irish and adhering to their customs. The side of the Romans was represented by young King Alchfrid, James the Deacon, Wilfrid the Abbot of Ripon with one of his priests by the name of Agatho, and Agilbert, the Bishop of Wessex, a Frank, who happened to be the guest of King Oswiu. Queen Eanfleda does not seem to have been present. Bishop Cedd, well versed in both the Irish and the Anglo-Saxon languages, acted as official interpreter.

It is impossible to reproduce in detail the lengthy speeches by which each party tried to establish the claims of its Easter calculation. They may be read in St. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book III, Chapter XXV.

King Oswiu opened the meeting by a short address. Those who serve one God, he said, should also be guided by one rule of life. There should be no discrepancy in celebrating the heavenly mysteries among those who hope for the one heavenly kingdom. Let there be an investigation as to which tradition is supported by the better reasons, and let that tradition be followed by all.

The speakers were practically only Colman, the Abbot-Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Wilfrid, Abbot of Ripon. Colman appealed to the authority of St. John the Apostle, who he said had established the calculation followed by the Irish. Wilfrid replied, that the *Scoti* in reality do not follow St. John. This great Apostle celebrated Easter always on a certain date according to the Jewish Calendar, no matter whether it was a Sunday or not. The *Scoti* always choose a Sunday. Besides St. Peter was greater than St. John, and he was the author of the calculation adopted by the Romans. Colman then advanced the authority of St. Anatolius, to whom in reality is due the eighty-four year cycle, which the *Scoti* had adopted and retained. He also claimed that the injunctions of St. Columba, the founder of Iona and Apostle of Scotland, ought not to be disregarded. Wilfrid pointed out that the *Scoti* did not follow Anatolius, because they sometimes celebrated Easter when Anatolius' rules would require another date. St. Columba, however, he said, had never had any opportunity to learn about the Roman Easter. But

Colman and his adherents knew the decrees of the Apostolic See, and yet they refused to conform. Our Lord never said to St. Columba what He had said to St. Peter: "Thou are Peter, and upon this rock I shall build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And to thee I will give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."

At this point King Oswiu in a rather dramatic way concluded the discussion. "Is it true, Colman," he said, "that these words were spoken to Peter by Our Lord?" "That is so," replied Colman. "And can you advance anything like it that was addressed to St. Columba?" "Nothing." "Do then both of you grant without any hesitation that these words were said to Peter, and that the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to him?" And both said yes. Thereupon the king declared: "And I tell you, that he is the Keeper of the Gate, whom I do not want to contradict. As far as I understand the matter and am able to act, I wish to obey his rule in all things; lest perhaps, when I arrive at the gate of the Kingdom of Heaven, there might be none to open it for me, since he is the one in whose power are the keys."

The King's words were received with applause by all the members of the Assembly, high and low. This was the end of the separate Easter for the Kingdom of Northumbria.[5] Cedd, the Bishop of Essex, too, returned to the South as an adherent of the Roman calculation.

The acceptance of the Roman Easter in Northumbria meant its ascendancy in all the other Anglo-Saxon realms. In 669 St. Theodore, sent by the Pope, arrived in Britain as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England. He traveled much in the various states and dioceses, and everywhere sought to restore or introduce the observance of the laws of the Church. He does not seem to have encountered any difference in the celebration of Easter, at least St. Bede, who otherwise lays the greatest stress on this point, does not mention it. To secure the existing correct practice, however, Canon I of the Provincial Council of Heresford, in 673, again emphasizes the observance of the Roman Easter. It is the last and only time after Whitby

5 The other Scotish pecularities, as the different tonsure worn by the monks, do not seem to have attracted any further attention. They no doubt disappeared with the Scotish Easter. (See, however, the beginning of Chap. 26 of Bede.)

that the controversy is alluded to by St. Bede in connection with the Anglo-Saxon states and bishoprics.

The unity, badly needed, was, however, dearly bought. While the Anglo-Saxon clergy and many of the *Scoti* obediently submitted to the Roman law, Abbot-Bishop Colman of Lindisfarne with a large number of monks, chiefly but not exclusively Irish, refused to conform, and withdrew to the North, where at Iona and the territories dependent on it the Celtic method of calculation was still kept up. No more Irish workers came to the Anglo-Saxon lands from those quarters. Though rejoicing over the victory of the Roman Easter, St. Bede does not fail on this occasion again, to express his admiration for the virtue and ability of those who now left for good the country which was so deeply indebted to them, and to give them a very sympathetic farewell.[6]

In order to appreciate the Easter Question correctly we may say that both the Celts and the Romans were wrong in appealing to an Apostle, the Celts to St. John, the Romans to St. Peter, as authors of their calculations. The eighty-four year Cycle used by the Celts was not in existence at the time of St. John. It was not even supported, in all its details, by the authority of Anatolius. This Cycle was tried out on the continent but found wanting in several points. The Council of Niceea had laid down the chief features of the Easter calculation, but the details had caused a wavering attitude, a tentative admission and rejection of several modifications for a period of two hundred years. As late as 525 A. D., as remarked before, did Dionysius Exiguus end the troubles by devising a satisfactory method of calculation.

In all discussions concerning the merits of the Celtic and the Roman Easter calculations much was made of reasons taken from the Old and New Law, and of mystical and symbolic considerations. There was in reality only one peremptory reason for the Roman Easter, alluded to by St. Wilfrid when he reminded Colman that now the Celtic world was no longer in ignorance as to the will of the Roman Pontiffs. It was the will of the Popes that made the method of Dionysius Exiguus the Roman method. We may find that same reason expressed in the

6 Irish missionaries continued to come from the South of Ireland, because that part of the Celtic world had accepted the Roman Easter some thirty years before Whitby.

concluding words of King Oswiu, who declared that he accepted the Roman Easter in order not to displease St. Peter, the Keeper of the Keys of the Heavenly Kingdom.

Let us now turn to the other part of our task and try to define the character of the assembly which decided the question we are discussing. The Rev. G. Stebbing, in his *Story of the Catholic Church*, p. 183, calls it a synod, meaning evidently an ecclesiastical Council. Hilaire Belloc, too, in his new *History of England*, Vol. I., speaks of it as the first English Council (contradicting himself a few pages later where he mentions the Council of Heresford as the first). Smaller works employ the same appellation.

To decide this question we must first consider the persons who composed this meeting. There were present the two kings, Oswiu and Alchfrid; three bishops, Colman, Cedd, and Agilbert, a number of priests who had come with Colman from Lindisfarne, the priests Wilfrid, Agatho, and Romanus, and the deacon James. There was finally the Abbess Hilda *cum suis*, which probably means both nuns and clerics. Besides these there must have been, however, a considerable multitude of other participants. St. Bede's report concludes, *Haec dicente rege faverunt adsidentes quique sive adstantes, majores cum mediocribus*, "the king's words were received with applause as well by those who were seated as by those who were standing, the prominent ones and those less important." Evidently the number of bishops, priests and other clerics was small in proportion to the rest of the Assembly. This is certainly not the composition of an ecclesiastical Council.

Moreover, it is decidedly the king who presides over the meeting. King Oswiu makes the opening address. He gives the floor first to Bishop Colman, and then expressly to Bishop Agilbert. The latter asks that Wilfrid speak in his stead, since he himself was not sufficiently familiar with the Anglo-Saxon speech. Wilfrid does so, but *jubente rege*, called upon by the king. Finally no vote is taken by either bishops or priests. The king himself cuts off all further disputation by the declaration that he will adhere to the practice ascribed to St. Peter. If there is any vote at all, it is the applause of the *adsidentes* and *adstantes*, the *majores cum mediocribus*. That these were not the clergy is

evident. Two of the three bishops present, Colman and Cedd, advocated the Celtic Easter. Only three of the priests, Agatho, Romanus, and Wilfrid, and the Deacon James championed the Roman method. Far greater was the number of those who had come with the Bishop Colman from Lindisfarne or belonged to the train of Abbess Hilda. None of these would have concurred in a vote for the Romans. The *adsidentes* and *adstantes*, who applauded the king's resolution can only have been the lay participants of the meeting, the great men of the kingdom, who according to their rank were either seated or standing. So the meeting of Whitby, consisting overwhelmingly of lay members, presided over by the king, and deciding by a vote of laymen, was no ecclesiastical gathering, was no Council. It was in all probability one of the regular national gatherings of the Northumbrians, summoned for the special purpose of coming to a conclusion in a matter which had caused much confusion for many years. It would seem at first sight, that an assembly of this character was incompetent to render any verdict in such a matter. But the members were perfectly in their right. In fact, they rendered no verdict at all. They did not pass on doctrines of Faith, nor did they attempt to force a new law upon the Church of their land. They did on a smaller scale what their ancestors had done thirty-seven years earlier, in 627 A. D. In that year the assembly of Northumbria with their King Edwin had decided to accept Christianity. In the Whitby assembly the members had gathered for the purpose of finding out what was, in one particular point, the law of the religion they had adopted. They assembled not with the will to dictate to the Church, but to obey her laws in all points.

The defeat of the Scottish Easter was an *important event.* Had the result of the Whitby discussion been the opposite, the Celtic usage would not only have been accepted in the large and mighty kingdom of Northumbria, but would also have made headway in the other realms, in several of which it was already to some extent in vogue. The struggle would have continued, probably with more acrimoniousness, and certainly not for the edification of the newly converted Christians. When the meeting of Whitby convened, only southern Ireland had conformed to Rome. It actually took another hundred years to bring around,

successively, the North of Ireland, the monks and the faithful of Scotland, including Iona, and the Bretons of Wales and Cornwall. A victory of the Celtic Easter at Whitby would have postponed the acceptation of the Roman method of caculation to a still later date. Nor were dangers of a graver nature lacking. Though the question was one of discipline, and though both parties carefully refrained from accusing each other of heresy, yet their practice of appealing to considerations of doctrine and mysticism might finally have shifted the controversy to the field of dogma. We do not know what would have happened. But that this unfortunate dissension might have led to a schism can hardly be denied. The outcome of the meeting at Whitby was an act of Divine Providence, a landmark in the history of the Church in the world of the British Isles.

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THE MYTH OF GARIBALDI

By the title of this paper we do not imply that Garibaldi is not a wholly historical personnage, nor even that the exploits associated with his name in the year 1860 are not to be regarded as the work of this man; but merely to inquire into the causes which made this very ordinary and cosmopolitan seaman become the incarnation of Italian unity and the hero of the liberal word, and who stirred our then very phlegmatic population into a delirium of enthusiasm. In some sense the unification was truly Garibaldi's work, or at least that he was a necessity can be proved on a sound rational basis; for Cavour all along, though without any regard for the man, recognized him as the charm which alone could work on the people and inspire them to do and die.

Count Cavour was of course one of the most subtle and remarkable statesmen within living memory, and the impression whether for good or evil, which his work has made on the Europe of our time is, again whether for good or evil, second only to that of Prince Bismarck.

Cavour was a liberal in the sense of "Whig": he had no trace of what is now called liberalism which, virtually, means socialism. That he favoured a constitutional form of government in Sardinia is certain, and that he preferred to deal politically with similar systems is probable; but unity formed no part of his original scheme. He was rather anxious to have liberalized governments to the south so as to avoid the danger of a general Austrian alliance against Sardinia. He was a liberal to the extent that he favoured parliamentary government, or at least the safety valve of talk, but intended to keep power in the hands of the "Whig" aristocracy to which he belonged. Never was a man less of a democrat than Count Cavour.

We shall see many contradictory actions of his in the course of this paper; but I imagine, in default of positive documentary evidence, that his life was a mental struggle between his intense desire of humiliating Austria, especially since Novarra, and his contempt for all that Garibaldi stood for. He further had to make every use of the power of France without allowing Napoleon to become the arbiter of Italy. Both he, however, and his master had a much juster appreciation of Napoleon's service than ever had Garibaldi and his intimates.

As late as April 15, 1860, not a month before the thousand sailed, the unification of Italy was not present to Cavour's mind; for we have Victor Emmanuel's letter to Francis II proposing to maintain forever the principle of dualism, and above all Cavour feared an attack on Papal territory. To some extent Cavour like his royal master, much later, hesitated between ambition and conscience. It was contrary, I will not say to Cavour's conscience but to his birth and traditions to encourage a marauding expedition against a power with whom friendly or correct relations were maintained; just as in 1870 Victor Emmanuel, before his attack on Rome, hesitated between his ambition and his religious scruples; for like all the Savoys he was a religious man of a sort and in both cases ambition won.

It was the knowledge that no decent people would make a private war against the Bourbons which forced Cavour into support of Garibaldi, before he recognized the absolute value of the adventurer. It is consonant with Italian politics through the centuries to employ people who are indispensable for certain schemes who can always be disavowed in time of need and whom you can kick even when rewarding their services; this insures the success of the decently born people and prevents their being personally soiled by shady transactions.

Cavour then decided on exploiting Garibaldi and those who gathered round him. Poor as our estimate of the real Garibaldi must be, it is to be remembered that he had real merits and was immeasurably superior to his entourage, many of whom were mere political criminals. Garibaldi himself was a humanitarian republican not really far removed from Mazzini, though less fantastic in his ideals, until Cavour gave him clearly to understand that he was being supported in the interest of the Savoy Cross and not in that of any neutral banner. At their best, his immediate followers were of somewhat similar views and by a strange irony of history not one of them, if they could have foreseen the Italy of 1926, would have lifted a finger to promote the success of Cavour's scheme. Not one did I say? Yes one and one only would be content, the half-crazed Sardirian nationalist, Nino Bixio, the only professional soldier in Garibaldi's motley thousand and a very brave man.

All through Cavour never comes into the open. His subordinate, Massimo d'Azeglio, an honest man, on his own account sequestrated Garibaldi's "million rifles" at Milan, though Cavour had connived at their collection, and nearly stopped the whole expedition, nor was he ever reproved. D'Azeglio was probably more Italian than Cavour but he was in favour, if anything were to be done at all, of a declaration of war in form and the employment of the regular Sardinian forces. Cavour sent orders to arrest the whole expedition if they were to be found in the gulf of Talamone for he feared an attack on the Papal states, and again ordered Persano, or more exactly the governor of Sardinia, e. g. the island, to stop the whole lot if they put into a port. There is no doubt but that he had grave doubts as to the possibility of Garibaldi's success and at times he seemed never to wholly desire it. If matters went wrong he was determined to be able to show the complete innocence of the Sardinian government in the face of the inevitable outcry of the horrified Courts of Europe. His policy bears no small resemblance to that of Elizabeth with regard to Spain, and there is something feminine and even feline in Cavour's nature. It is uncertain how far Cavour acted alone and secretly apart from and, perhaps, against the views of his colleagues; but it is clear that Garibaldi was the merest tool and a despised tool, and it is more than probable that Victor Emmanuel was led along in semi-darkness on a road which indeed led to success but which he would never have followed in broad daylight. In the same manner in which Bismarck misled and pacified the King of Prussia in the many acts necessary for the formation of the German Reich, but from which in open daylight the natural honesty of William I would have shrunk.

I suppose that most, if not all, of those here present have read Mr. Trevelyan's Trilogy; *The Defence of the Roman Republic; The Thousand;* and *The Making of Italy;* they form a splendid epic and the interest, more the fascination, never fails. I say epic advisedly. It is not history because it is the panegyric of one man. In the same way, assuming the facts of the Trojan war to be historical, the *Aeneid* would not be history because it is primarily the glorification of one man, the good Aeneas, in spite of some very objectionable points in his character which

do not trouble Vergil at all; any more than the plain flaws in Garibaldi's character interrupt the flow of eulogy from Mr. Trevelyan. Mr. Trevelyan is writing up a hero, even as Carlyle wrote up heroes and so have other authors, there is no harm in it. In fact that style of history is to be preferred to the kind which fills many Historical Reviews, in which the writers seem to be afraid to make any statement and take refuge in stuff which has no human interest whatever. Nevertheless, Mr. Trevelyan's method puts one on one's guard and arouses a certain hostility at the outset. I realize that he belongs to a particular political school which is not mine, for in the preface to his most recent addition he writes of the late war. "We fought for the principles of 1688 and 1789 and we settled the indecisive issue of 1848." I begin to fear that we did, and to further the "principles" of 1688 and 1789 I would not fire a popgun; for all my principles both by conviction and by tradition are on the other side.

Mr. Trevelyan is fairness itself in statement of fact, and the narrative of events, for which he relies on Bourbon sources quite as much as on those from the side of the Risorgimento, may be most implicitly followed. It is his assumption that everywhere and always the adherents of unity are right, and that everywhere and always the Bourbons are wrong which irritates. After all that is an arguable point.

In this paper I only propose really to take the year 1860 for this is the year of Garibaldi's greatness, or at any rate of his triumph, and it is also the time when throwing off his inherent revolutionary and anti-Christian spirit, or cloaking it in obedience to Cavour's orders, he acted in a spirit of reasonableness and compromise as opposed to the red revolutionarism of his followers. Garibaldi, in spite of outward feuds, was Mazzinian at heart: but he realized, what the other revolutionaries did not, that the neutral flag would soon become a black one for their hopes and that political salvation lay in the Savoy Cross. At least he did in his clearer moments. Ultimately, Garibaldi could only hope for success with the entry into the field of the Sardinian army, and Victor Emmanuel would certainly not adventure his small but solid force to set up some nondescript liberal governments in the Peninsular.

So then, for the paper, we regard Garibaldi as entering history when he sailed from Nervi with the thousand, and as leaving it when in a sort of way he won the battle of the Volturno. His earlier exploits are romantic but devoid of real significance and after the capture of Naples he never again did anything of the slightest importance. Never did he appear to greater advantage than after the Volturno, when at the culminating point of his triumph he was set aside and contemptuously treated by those whose success he had largely, if in a very irregular and immoral manner, made possible. Between Cavour, the Sardinian generals, and Garibaldi the balance of dignity is all on his side. Victor Emmanuel, who with all his vagaries had the instincts of his very ancient and illustrious house, left to himself would have been more generous. All the same, the quick change artist business, from the poncho red shirt and all the paraphernalia of the complete stage brigand to the grave uniform of a Sardinian colonel, must have irritated the regular officers who had fought with credit in the Crimea and at Palestro. It is difficult to preserve one's gravity when we think of Garibaldi in the uniform of Piedmont; almost as difficult as to picture Victor Emmanuel in a red shirt.

Garibaldi and Cavour were singularly fortunate in the political circumstances of Europe at that time and in other accidental happenings; but as is always necessary they used their intelligence and will to seize on it. Schiller truly wrote: "To make a great decision possible many accidents all fleeting and rapid must flow together, and these flowing and converging circumstances may be made to stop at their confluence for a space of time, long enough for wisdom; but far too short a time for doubt or scruple."

We may, I think, take three of these circumstances as self-evident, except for the fact that unlike axioms they are clearly capable of proof.

1. But for Napoleon's declaration of war, for whatever motive, on Austria, 1859, nothing whatever could have been changed. Alone, Piedmont would have been totally incapable not only to move the Austrians from Lombardy but even to keep them out of Turin if Francis Joseph desired to go to such lengths.

2. The return to power of a liberal government in England in June, 1859, with Lord Palmerston as Prime Minister and Lord John Russell as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was highly favourable for the cause of Italian unity. These two statesmen were Whigs of the first order, wholly inbued with the spirit of 1688, for whom William of Orange was the great deliverer, and thoroughly permeated with the sentiment that no state could possibly exist, nor indeed had any right to exist, unless modelled on our constitution. There burned too in them, as in Mr. Gladstone, a genuine hatred of what was comprehensively called despotism, tryanny, and clericalism.

3. The prevalence of the anti-Popery spirit in England about that time. It worked confusedly, for it was coupled with anti-French feeling although Napoleon, as already remarked, by his victories at Magenta and Solferino had made Italian unity possible; but the Emperor kept a garrison in Rome for the security of the Pope. The Papal states, Naples, and Austria were regarded, popularly, in England as in complete alliance against liberalism in Europe; and while admitting that as Catholic countries neither would willingly see the spoliation of the Holy See, it was pure fantasy to see any close connection between the two Sicilies and Austria. That may have been so during the years which followed Waterloo; but during the reign of Ferdinand II and the brief space of his son Francis II, Naples was inclined to keep Austria at a respectful distance. So much so that to preserve the independence of his kingdom from the Empire the King practically sacrificed its existence. Ours happened to be an essentially middle class government and in that class, in a general way, anti-Papal prejudices were and are much stronger than amongst the aristocracy or the folk. This, the *Italianissimo* and ribald attitude of *Punch* towards the Papacy faithfully reflected; for *Punch* is nothing if not bourgeois.

It seems strange, a fact to which Mr. Trevelyan calls attention, that at that time the English people, who were peculiarly *John Bullish* and ignorant of foreigners to an extent which would surprise the younger people of to-day, should have been so worked up about the wrongs of the Lombards and Neapolitans as to subscribe largely to the exiles and to receive Garibaldi himself in a manner in which I suppose in modern times no foreigner

has ever been entertained. At the present time the Turks may massacre their Christian subjects on a magnificent scale; the Bolsheviks commit every horror; and the new fangled states trample on the most elementary rights of their minorities and no one turns a hair.

I think this curious change is to be explained by the fact that the English of the last century had an extraordinary devotion to the idea of personal freedom and hotly resented any sort of government interference in ordinary life. Now, owing to semi-socialistic theories that fine idea of personal independence and responsibility is gone, except amongst the more elderly; for the state is expected to interfere in everything, even in the most private matters. This system, which now seems popular, would alone have produced a violent outbreak at almost any time in the last half of the XIX century.

This feeling was not however shared by the conservatives and countryfolk, and the Court remained pro-Austrian and pro-Bourbon. During the height of the Garibaldi mania, Queen Victoria said that it made her almost ashamed to rule over so absurd a people. The English bourgeois sentiment was on the whole a worthy one; though it erred in thinking that some sort of ready-to-wear government made on the lines of our secular constitution must be a panacea for the woes of every country, and this the history of the last few years is proving.

There was also present to the government, not to the people, the idea that a united and relatively strong Italy might prove a useful balance to French power in the Mediterranean.

Before we briefly consider Garibaldi's claims to be a general of high ability, a claim made for him by his biographers and never, so far as I know, advanced by himself, it will be well to try and estimate his real character.

Garibaldi was a consistent humanitarian. There is no record of any cruel act of his though many of injustice. His goodwill towards living creatures extended down to the animals, for which he had a regard unknown to his countrymen and rare in any land in his younger days. Of his personal bravery there is not the slightest doubt. He was crafty and a dissembler. Wholly "anti-clerical" he knew how to make use of the simple, not to say superstitious, minds of the devout Sicilians and would take

part in processions and other devotions to the annoyance of his more logical followers. But when it came to dealing with the "reactionary orders," such as the Jesuits of Marsala, he had no objection to their being plundered. Some Franciscans joined him and to that order he was sentimentally attracted, as are many at the present day. Moreover, it is true that many of the clergy being Sicilians were distinctly hostile to the Neapolitans of the mainland. Garibaldi faintly praised his clerical allies. *They are enemies of progress no doubt, but still they are enemies of the Bourbons.* That phase revealed all his mind. He was a liberal in the very sense in which liberalism was condemned by Pius IX. It is hopeless to try and turn him into a Christian in any real or historic sense of the word. Strongly anti-Catholic, Garibaldi at best was a Deist, but more often inclined to a form of Pantheism. Still, when all is said he possessed a certain dignity and refinement of mind which prevented him, as much as political considerations, from practising the gross and blatant atheism which characterized his associates and, indeed, impressed itself on the whole course of the history of "United Italy" until the coming of Mussolini.

We will now take a few points in the campaign to show how little any question of generalship determined the result. It's success was due to a series of fortuitous circumstances and to the "good luck"[1] which ever attended on Garibaldi. I propose more particularly to confine these remarks to the events in Sicily and the campaign of the Volturno.

Roughly speaking, 1,000 ill armed volunteers set out in two obsolete steamers to invade an island which was protected at sea by ships of war and which held a garrison of about 20,000 regulars. We know that the expedition succeeded, but to anyone with any knowledge of soldiering it was suicidal.

Garibaldi began by landing near Leghorn a criminal, Zambianchi, well known for his ferocious hatred of the Church and for his murder of priests, when the mob was in possession of Rome, 1848, with a party of men to attack the Papal states. This expedition came to a most ignominious end; but it shows that Garibaldi, Mazzinian in his hatred of the Church and flying in the

1 No one, outside an asylum, can believe in good or bad luck; but it is a convenient phrase for indicating the incalculable in daily life.

face of his crypto-supporter Cavour, deliberately reduced his comically weak force, for these brigands were well armed. This diversion made the conquest of Sicily, the objective of the whole expedition, still more improbable.

Having escaped the Neapolitan cruisers, Garibaldi found himself off Marsala in the roads of which were anchored two English warships. Their presence was wholly unconnected with the 1,000 but was singularly lucky for Garibaldi. Our ships did not of course interfere in any way; but their presence affected the nerves of Captain Acton, the Neapolitan commander, who had now arrived with two warships. Acton knew that the sympathy of England was with Garibaldi and, as news travelled slowly then and he had been for some time at sea, he perhaps thought it possible that England was at war with the Two Sicilies. At any rate he opened fire so tardily and so badly that the expedition safely gained the shelter of the walls of Marsala, whereas nothing could have been easier than to settle its fate then and there forever. This episode was worth many men to Garibaldi, for the 1,000 had seen what the Neapolitan high command was like at sea and it might prove to be the same on land. It did. I said "high command" advisedly; for in many of the subordinate officers and in some of the regiments there was no lack of courage, but incapacity, cowardice, and even a lack of ordinary sense seemed to paralyze the higher authorities and the staff.

Palermo was the only place where Garibaldi could really fulfill his aim, so for Palermo he had to make and one way was hardly more impossible than another. There were no roads then in the interior of the island, it is mountainous and easily capable of defence, and there were 20,000 soldiers available. He decided to march by Calatafimi. This was very risky. Garibaldi knew that General Landi was in force there not only numerically superior but immeasurably better found in arms and equipment. As it was he found himself opposed on the slopes of a high hill by Major Bosco and his chasseurs. Bosco was a man of spirit and engaged more or less against the intention of his superior. Garibaldi just succeeded in clearing the hill; even to the fiery Bixio the task seemed impossible and he had advised a retreat. Nothing had been decided. Bosco had indeed retired into Calatafimi but with less loss than that of the

Garibaldians who were now short of ammunition: moreover, in the little town Landi had four battalions as yet unused. The position too was naturally a strong one and the way to Palermo was barred. That night Landi fled pell mell to the capital. This was an act on which neither Garibaldi nor anyone else could have counted. It was individual bravery in Garibaldi and the 1,000 to stand up to Bosco and his well-armed men but no matter of generalship. He won owing to the amazing conduct of his opponent. So it was all through, from the governor Castelcicala to Lanza, who finally took over the supreme charge of the island as the king's "other self," panis and stupidity presided over all their actions. Exactly similar circumstances during the subsequent campaign on the mainland, on which we shall not be able to dwell, brought about the surrender of Reggio and the disasters of Villa San Giovanni and Soveria.

Soon after the flight of Calatafimi, Von Mechel, the Colonel of the Swiss, inflicted a bad check on the Garibaldians. It was no lack of courage but sheer obstinacy[2] which caused Von Mechel to pursue Garibaldi whither he had not gone, and gave him a chance to double back and descend by Ghibilrossa right into the gates of Palermo. This and his subsequent outmarching of Calderelli in Calabria were Garibaldi's best pieces of strategy. He certainly had a guerilla's eye for the ground: it was in all matters of organizing, in supplies and so forth, and in tactics that Garibaldi was so weak.

The element of surprise missed completely in the attack on Palermo: tactically it was a failure. In fact, the 1,000 lost heavily in an engagement with the Bourbon troops on the Oreto but succeeded in making a lodgment in the city. Fatal as the entry to Palermo must have seemed for a body of about 1,200 aided by a few Sicilian irregulars in the face of its garrison of 20,000 to say nothing of the guns of Castellamare and of the warships, it was really their salvation. Outside, they must have been finally starved or rounded up by the Swiss or Bosco; inside, street fighting is ever the delight of irregulars and the detestation of regular troops especially in the midst of a hostile population; for to the Sicilians the Neapolitan troops were foreigners,

2 From his conduct here and later on, as we shall see, it seems as if the Swiss Colonel despised the advice and help of his Neapolitan colleagues.

as foreign neither more nor less than Garibaldi's Northerners. The Bourbon troops never good fighters were getting more and more demoralized by an almost superstitious belief in Garibaldi's success. Never, probably, before or since was an army of 20,000, encamped or rather herded together in one corner of a land, whose inhabitants if hardly favourable to the invader were certainly hostile to the defenders, left without any attempt on the part of their generals to use them as a real army. It is true that the confusion of counsel at Naples and the rival schemes of the generals does help to explain the extraordinary events which followed.

Nunziante wanted to fight, Lanza preferred the more cautious but wholly sound plan of Filangieri but did nothing, and before long Nunziante was sent to kick him into some sort of activity. It was not a way to increase the prestige of the "alter ego." Unfortunately, Lanza fell back on the cowardly and fatal plan of bombarding the city which caused immense damage and loss of life to the civilian population without the slightest military advantage.

Garibaldi had established himself somewhat precariously by the cathedral with his headquarters at the *Pretorio*. These lines were never substantially altered, but on May 29th after rather sharp fighting the Bourbons slightly improved their position. Garibaldi was wholly unable to advance and he himself thought that the end of the tether had been reached: but his good fortune pursued him.

At this time Lanza determined on a suspension of hostilities to be followed by a conference on board the English admiral's flagship. Just before the Viceroy's letter left for Garibaldi, news came to the royalist headquarters that Von Mechel and Bosco were back from Corleone and before long the sound of firing proved that the Swiss were fighting their way into the town. The 1,000 were now caught between two fires. Von Mechel scattered their rearguard and must have taken the *Pretorio* with Garibaldi but for the armstice.[3] It was noon and an English naval lieutenant and two Neapolitan officers who

3 One of the Garibaldians stated at the time that but for the hour of the armistice they were lost. If the Swiss had attacked only a few hours earlier nothing could have saved them. On such small things the fate of kingdoms and people depend.

came from Lanza managed to appease Bosco and Von Mechel and made them understand that an armistice was in force. The armistice was thrice prolonged and the final capitulation of Palermo took place on June 6th. It is the most ignominious capitulation on record. At least 20,000 men with an immense amount of military stores surrendered to whatever remained of the 1,000. We are credibly informed that not 500 muskets nor any adequate supply of ammunition remained to the invaders.

We hardly know how to describe the sequence of events from Marsala to the shipping off of the Neapolitan troops from Palermo. The very audacity and improbability of it seemed to upset all the Bourbon calculations. It was bluff and individual bravery against incompetence, cowardice, and a lack of even common sense. If no one else but Garibaldi could have pushed it through, we may equally truly say that against no army in Europe other than this Neapolitan would he have had the slightest chance of success.

We have no time to follow the crossing of the straits and the campaign in Calabria, in both of which Garibaldi's luck never failed him, but we may notice two extraneous events which worked much in his favour.

The courts of Europe were nearly in accord over intervention to save the mainland kingdom and Count Persigny had just presented a note from Napoleon to which our government agreed in principle. The extraordinary *volta face* of Lord John Russell fairly dazed Persigny and without us Napoleon would not act. Anyhow, the new theory was that if the army and people remained loyal to the dynasty the Garibaldians must be defeated; if otherwise, intervention against the declared wishes of a country would be inopportune. This is the immoral doctrine of non-intervention to which England has since consistently adhered.

In the second place, a constitutional government was again set up in the kingdom and the new intendant of Lower Calabria, a *protégé* of the enigmatic don Liborio Romano, was a constitutionalist in more or less sympathy with the rebel *junta*. From this time communications between the Garibaldians and the royal generals became frequent, and since the Neapolitans were now forced to march under the tricolour, a hostile flag as it

seemed to them, they began to regard the invaders as half friends, between whom and themselves there was no longer any fundamental difference. The Garibaldians too after each surrender were active in spreading dissensions amongst the troops and with considerable negative success. They caused many to desert but only an infinitesimal proportion of the Bourbon troops actually joined Garibaldi.

After the surrender of General Ghio at Soveria the Garibaldians progressed rapidly through Calabria towards Naples, and at Meleto found the body of the murdered general Briganti, amid the ever increasing demoralization of the Bourbon troops. The numerical superiority was now on Garibaldi's side.

We must now take a glance at the Capital. Since the promulgation of the Constitution the new minister, Romano, had turned the police and the administration generally into a liberal machine; but Piannel, the War Minister, an honest man who acted in what he really believed to be the interest of the dynasty, had much less success in liberalizing the army. Still, between them the peaceful entry of Garibaldi into Naples was practically assured. The fact that Francis II and his brave Bavarian queen[4] drove gaily about the city without escort only the day before his flight proves how small were the grievances and how slight was the hostility of the masses towards their sovereign. Treachery surrounded the last Bourbon King of Naples, and even on the vital matter of how to stop the Garibaldians advance there was such confusion of counsel that only Garibaldi's arrival at Saberno had the effect of forcing a decision. Francis left by sea for Gaeta and it was decided to resist the invaders on the Volturno under the defences of Capua. This enforced retirement was not against the Bourbon interest. There the population was loyal and the spirit of the men and officers row to fight under the white flag was in strange contrast to the supineness of the constitutional generals in Calabria, at a time when no regular had anything to fear from the red shirts.

On September 7th, Garibaldi entered Naples standing in his carriage to meet all dangers in a spirit full of bombast; for no

4 Mary. + 1925. Sister of the murdered Elizabeth, Empress of Austria. Francis' character was negative; but he was haunted by the bogey of revolution, and it is said, locally, that whoever talks of bogeys is likely to see one at night. No man could be more unlike the tyrant of popular imagination.

danger existed since Francis had ordered the garrisons of St. Elmo, the Carmine, and other fortresses not to fire.

The loyalty of the Bourbon troops seriously upset the calculations of Sardinia; for the ever-increasing strength of Francis made either a war with France or civil war highly probable, and Cavour was determined to avert the first at any price. The political and military danger were both lost on Garibaldi, who so long as he had his red shirts and any mob of the people with a large "P" seemed indifferent to the power of Napoleon or of Francis II. His obstinacy at this crisis in persisting on a future attack on Rome, and thence to proceed to take Venice (Francis Joseph mattered no more than Napoleon) is a striking instance of his complete lack of military and political intelligence. All his liberal friends in England were against such a crazy scheme as were Cosenz and Turr, the most able and most genial of the Garibaldians.

Garibaldi's interim government at Naples was hopeless. The worse criminals were released as political victims and nothing but the restoration of Francis or the arrival of Victor Emmanuel could save the city from an orgy of liberty.

There was a military deadlock. Francis had two fortresses which could resist any attack by Garibaldi and one of them, Gaeta, did hold out for months even against the regular army of Sardinia.

The invasion of the Papal States the same month by the Sardinian army was Cavour's masterpiece and the turning point of the fate of Italy. At Chambéry, in August, when Garibaldi was in full success, he won over Napoleon to the occupation of Umbria and the Marchs but not the Patrimony of St. Peter. Cavour was careful to explain that the success of Sardinia meant the restoration of order at the expense of Garibaldi. In a sense he was genuine. He was willing to use Garibaldi but had never intended that any but the House of Savoy should be the gainer.

The supreme Neapolitan command, under the King, was in the hands of Marshal Afan de Rivera, who was no fool but not over enterprising, and Marshal Ritucci a brave and able man who so recklessly exposed himself during the battle that he lost that grasp of the whole which a general in command ought to preserve. Under him were Tabacchi, Rossarol both brave men

and Von Mechel. It was a very different army to that which Garibaldi had been accustomed to meet.

Rivera failed to grasp the need of immediate action. He saw no point in useless loss of life but thought, and reasonably, that since Garibaldi had been brought to a standstill he would loose his political power as well. He forgot the Sardinian moves behind him, and when, by the end of September, Victor Emmanuel had won the battle of Castelfidardo and Ancona had been lost by General Lamoricière, what happened on the Volturno could make little difference in the long run.

On September 19th, Garibaldi's Milanese surprised Cajazzo, North of the Volturno, a wholly useless and untenable place. Ritucci attacked without delay, the Bourbon victory there was complete. If Ritucci had now been allowed to attack along the whole line, before Garibaldi erected batteries at Santa Maria and Sant 'Angelo, nothing could have saved the invaders. Generalship always at fault, luck marvellous.

On October 1, the Bourbon army poured out of Capua in a mist to the attack and captured San Prisco. Ritucci according to instructions was attacking here, frontally, and, on the flank, with Von Mechel's Swiss by way of Ducenta and the viaduct of Maddaloni. Meantime Mechel again divided his force, which was not in the instructions, and sent Ruiz, whose Calabrian record ought not to have inspired confidence, to mop up a red shirt post at Castel Morrone and that done attack the Garibaldian headquarters at Old Castera. This was left exposed to any flank attack, for Garibaldi, in spite of Turr's misgivings, had moved thence the last of the reserves to Santa Maria.

Mechel with only 3,000 Swiss marched to attack Bixio at Maddaloni. Here Bixio had great numerical superiority and all the advantages which the possession of the aqueduct (there was a path on it) gave him. However, the men of the Forest Cantons with some guns stormed the position East of the aqueduct and drove Bixio's right wing in hopeless flight. At the same time they were equally victorious on the floor of the valley and climbing its steep sides began to cross the aqueduct. Again the red shirts fled. However well they stood up to the Neapolitans they would never face the Swiss. At this point the Swiss

got entangled on the narrow path with their own battery and Von Mechel lost his son.

What had Ruiz been doing all this time? Well, he followed out his instructions and took Monte Morrone and killed all the garrison and ultimately, with the loss of much valuable time, reached and occupied old Caserta. Next day he sacked the Garibaldian headquarters but it was then too late. A general of any spirit, when he heard the firing, would have marched either to Maddaloni or to Santa Maria and at either place his presence would have probably ensured a Bourbon victory.

Mechel after six hours fighting gave the order to retire on Ducenta wholly unshaken, for Bixio would not venture near him. About this time when darkness was falling after some hours of stalemate Ritucci ordered his men to retire on Capua. Garibaldi had in a sort of way won the battle of the Volturno.

It was a failure for the Bourbon troops and in no sense a defeat. Garibaldi could not advance a yard towards Capua and his losses were heavy; whereas Ritucci's army was as solid as before the action and could reinforce behind the walls of Capua. It was the rapid advance of the Sardinian army from the Marches which was the determining factor. The war, which was prolonged until early in 1861, between two regular armies entered on a wholly fresh stage. After the Volturno Garibaldi retired into an obscurity from which he never again emerged.

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MISCELLANY

CANADA'S PATRON SAINT

Though three centuries have elapsed since Saint Joseph was chosen as the patron saint of Canada, the majority of Canadians to-day are quite ignorant of the fact that Canada has a patron saint. When on the feast of Saint Joseph this this year an Ottawa parish priest pointed out that the feast day of Canada's patron saint was accorded no national recognition and urged that in this Jubilee Confederation Year an effort be made to remedy this neglect, many doubted and some denied that Canada had ever chosen a patron saint. When even such a standard Catholic work of reference as the Catholic Encyclopedia is in error on this question (Volume xi., page 566), it is not surprising that an occasional Catholic priest should be in ignorance of the fact that Saint Joseph is the patron of Canada. If even some who are teachers in Israel know not these things, little wonder that non-Catholic Canadians should never have heard of them. Accordingly the following historical summary of the evidence in connection with Saint Joseph as Canada's patron saint has been compiled from authentic sources that all who will may know why and how he has been honored and should be honored as our national patron.

We possess contemporary evidence that Saint Joseph was chosen as Patron of Canada in 1624. For in that year that famous Recollect Franciscan who was the pioneer priest of Ontario and the founder of the Huron missions, Father Joseph Le Caron, in a Memoir addressed to his father provincial in France, wrote as follows from Quebec:

"We have attracted some Iroquois here. For all that is said of the fierceness and cruelty of that nation, I think that they have far more mind, reason and policy than the rest, and consequently are better able of conceiving our truths. Our seminary would be a great resource, if we had the means of supplying all; but, on account of the poverty of the country, we can support but a small number of Indians there. The rest of our church is spread in the neighborhood among the French and Indians, and some are in the woods with three of our Fathers and one Brother. It will always be much to gain some souls to God; we expect the rest from His grace. We have since that time had a great solemnity, when all the settlers were present and many Indians, for a vow we have made to Saint Joseph whom we have chosen Patron of the country and protector of this rising Church." (Nous avons fait une grande solemnité où tous les habitants se sont trouvés et plusieurs sauvages, par un voeu que nous avons fait à saint Joseph que nous avons choisi pour le patron du pays et protecteur de cette Eglise naissante.)

These words are cited by Father Chrétien Le Clercq in his work entitled *Premier établissement de la Foi*, published in 1691. The work was translated into English with scholarly notes, under the title of The First Establishment of the Faith in New France, by John Gilmary Shea in 1881. (See Volume 1, page 223, of Shea's edition.) From the history of the Ursulines of Quebec we learn that this public vow was made with great solemnity by all the French settlers and Christian Indians of Quebec on St. Joseph's Day, namely, March 19th. (*Les Ursulines de Québec*, 1, 261.)

The year after St. Joseph was chosen as Canada's patron saint, the Jesuits arrived to help the Franciscans in the gigantic task of converting the Indians. In 1629 Canada was conquered by the English and all the priests were deported from the country. When Canada was restored to France three years later, the French civil authorities, for some unexplained and unjustifiable reason, allowed only the Jesuits to return to Canada. The Jesuit fathers fostered in every way the devotion to St. Joseph as the Patron Saint of Canada. We have ample evidence of this in the voluminous *Jesuit Relations*. Let us begin with the greatest of these missionaries, Blessed John de Brébeuf. He had been introduced to the Huron Mission field by the Franciscans in 1626 and in 1634 wished to reestablish this promising mission. The Huron flotilla was at Three Rivers, but the Indians were unwilling to take Father Brébeuf and his fellow missionaries. He thus describes how he overcame these difficulties:

"Several times I was completely baffled and desperate, until I had special recourse to Our Lord Jesus for whose glory alone we were undertaking this painful journey, and until I had made a vow to glorious St. Joseph, the new Patriarch of the Hurons. Immediately I saw everything become quiet and our savages so satisfied that those who embarked Father Daniel had already placed him in their canoe." (*Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland Edition, 8,73.)

Later on in the same letter he states:

"We owe much also to our glorious St. Joseph, Spouse of Our Lady and Protector of the Hurons, who has rendered us tangible aid several times. It was a remarkable thing that on the day of his feast and during the octave accommodations came to us from all sides." (*ibid*, 8, 149.)

The letter is signed thus:

"From our little residence of St. Joseph in the village of Ihonatiria in the Huron country, this 27th day of May, 1635, the day upon which the Holy Ghost descended visibly upon the Apostles, Your Reverence's very humble and obedient servant in Our Lord,

"JEAN DE BREBEUF."

In this letter Blessed Brébeuf called St. Joseph Patriarch and Protector of the Hurons. He did not fail to accord him also his title of Patron of the country. For on an occasion in 1634, the sad plight of an unconscious and unbaptized Indian named Sasousmat so appealed to him that he promised to say a Mass "in honor of glorious St. Joseph, Patron of New France, for the health and conversion of this poor savage." The Indian was cured and baptized. (*Relations* 6,109).

We possess two interesting evidences of the successful invocation of St. Joseph's assistance in Huronia in 1637. Father Le Mercier, writing from the residence of St. Joseph at Ihonatiria, 21st of June, 1637, describes the baptism of a captive Iroquois youth of thirteen "which we have every reason to attribute to the merits of St. Joseph." The child's health was restored, Father Brébeuf instructed him and the child was baptized. Father Le Mercier adds the following important comment:

"He was named Joseph in acknowledgement of the favour they had received from this Holy Patriarch, who is always showing us that it is with good reasons that we have taken him for our Patron and Father." (*Relations* 14,29).

Later on in that same year 1637 an epidemic having broken out amongst the Hurons, the Indian sorcerers laid the blame for it on the Black Robes and the Huron War Council determined to put the seven Jesuits to death. Blessed John de Brébeuf drew up a letter at Ossossané, 28th October, 1637, expressing the sentiments of the missionaries as they were in hourly expectation of their martyrdom. One of the priests who signed this letter, Father Le Mercier, in a report embodied in the *Relation* of 1638, gives this letter and thus describes what followed:

"These are the thoughts God inspired in us at that time. Now in this desperate state of affairs, we had recourse to the great St. Joseph, all making a vow to say Holy Mass in his honor for nine consecutive days; we began this on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude. Furthermore, as it was important that this people should know the interest we felt in their welfare, the Father (i e. Brébeuf) thought it well to invite them to his Atsatsion—that is to say, his farewell feast, such as they are accustomed to give when they are nearing death. Our cabin overflowed with people. It was a good occasion to speak to them of the other life. The mournful sadness of these people saddened us more than our own danger. Meanwhile one, two and three days slipped away, to the astonishment of our entire village, without any more threats of death from those gentlemen in their assembly. I do not know whether the devil had stirred up these barbarians against us, but I can say that we had not but finished our novena before all these storms were allayed, so that even they wondered at it amongst themselves and with reason. May we not hope that the great Patron of our unbelievers will some day cause to appear still more admirable results in the change of their hearts? At all events, since the 6th of November, when we finished our votive Masses in his honor, we have enjoyed an incredible peace, at which we ourselves wonder from day to day, when we consider in what condition our affairs were only one week ago." (*Relations* 15,67).

It was not only in Huronia that St. Joseph was honored in Canada in that memorable year 1637. On the contrary at Quebec on March 19th that year, the choice of St. Joseph as Patron of Canada was ratified and celebrated in a most solemn manner. Father Le Jeune in his Relation of 1637 intimates that Pope Urban VIII had officially approved the choice of St. Joseph as Patron of Canada, for he states:

"His Holiness, wishing to crown us with his blessings, has had sent to us this year plenary indulgences for the feasts of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin and of our glorious Patron and Protector, St. Joseph." (*Relations*, 11, 47).

Father Le Jeune goes on to give the following descriptions of the celebration of St. Joseph's Day at Quebec:

The festival of the glorious patriarch St. Joseph, Father, Patron and Protector of New France, is one of the great solemnities of this country. On the eve of this day which is so dear to us, the flag was hoisted and the cannon fired, as I have said above. Monsieur the Governor had an exhibition of fireworks, as artistically devised as almost any I had seen in France; on one side a skin was stretched, upon which appeared in illuminated letters the name of St. Joseph; above this sacred name burned a number of lighted candles from which sprang

eighteen or twenty little serpents. (Then follows a detailed description of an elaborate device in fireworks representing a château). Towards evening Monsieur le Gouverneur and Monsieur De l'Isle and all our gentlemen emerged from the fort and came near the church to the place selected for these fireworks. All the inhabitants of New France in the vicinity of Kebec were present at this rejoicing. The shades of night had covered the sky and the earth, when Sieur de Beaulieu presented a lighted brand to Monsieur le Gouverneur, who sat on fire the device (the fireworks chateau)—having explained it to the savages, especially the Hurons, that the French were more powerful than the demons, that they commanded the fire and that if they wished to burn the villages of their enemies they could do so very easily. On the feast day our church was full of people and of devotion almost as it is on an Easter Sunday—all blessing God for having given us as Protector, the Protector and Guardian Angel, so to speak, of Jesus Christ His son. It is in my opinion through his favor and his merits that the inhabitants of New France, who live upon the banks of the great river, the St. Lawrence, have resolved to receive all the good customs of the old (France) and to refuse admission to the bad ones." (*Relations* 11, 66-71).

"The feast of St. Joseph, Patron Saint of the Country," to employ the phrase used by the Relation of 1640-41, (21, 231) continued to be celebrated at Quebec in the same way each year till 1647, when the Jesuit Superior, Father Jerome Lallemant, ceding to an unnecessary scruple, had the bonfire omitted. The following is his account:

"On the feast of St. Joseph, they made no bonfire on the eve, as is customary; I was partly the cause of this, for I hardly relished this ceremony, which had no devotion attending it; and it seemed to me that a Benediction in the Saint's honor was better. This in fact was done on the eve at the parish church and on the day itself at the Ursulines—where the hic vir despiciens was sung with music. On that same eve a cannon shot was fired at one o'clock; and on the feast at the morning angelus four or five cannon shots." (*Relations* 30, 163).

The question as to whether or not there should be a bonfire on St. Joseph's eve continued to worry the Jesuit Fathers at Quebec, as the following extracts from the Journal kept by Father Jerome Lallemant show:

1649. "St. Joseph's day. The bonfire was made again this year, on the eve of St. Joseph's day; but the material was separated from the spiritual. Benediction was held at six o'clock; and, about seven, Monsieur le Gouverneur came and begged me to attend and wished me to start the fire, which I did." (*Relations* 34, 243).

1650. "On St. Joseph's eve, there was a very cold bonfire—that is to say, very simple, without fireworks or rockets. Monsieur le Gouverneur requested me, through his wife, to start the fire—he being indisposed. I did so with great repugnance." (*Relations* 35, 35).

Father Ragueneau who succeeded Father Lallemant as Jesuit Superior at Quebec writes in the Journal in 1651 that he lit the bonfire with much repugnance." (*Relations*, 36, 115). In 1661 there were no less than three bonfires on St. Joseph's eve, M. Couillard's, that of the Jesuit pupils, and that of the Ursulines. (*Relations* 46, 165). The bonfire was however soon discontinued and the celebration of the feast of Canada's patron saint lost much of its external

pomp. This partially accounts for the fact that when English-speaking Protestants came to Canada a century later they failed to learn that St. Joseph was the national patron, as there was no external celebration of his feast, apart from the purely religious celebration in the Catholic churches and convents.

It was the intention of the Jesuit missionaries that the principal church to be built in Huronia adjoining Residence of Ste. Marie should be dedicated to St. Joseph because he is "the Patron of this country." The Relation of 1640 contains the following from the pen of Father Jerome Lallemant:

"I wrote last year that we had two residences in the country of the Hurons, one of St. Joseph at Teanausteiyé and the other, the Conception at Ossossané. . . We resolved to combine our two houses into one . . .We have given to this new house the name of Sainte Marie. . . The general and special obligations that we are under to that great princess of heaven and earth makes it one of our keenest disappointments that we are unable to show her sufficient gratitude. At least we can claim, henceforth, the consolation that often people shall speak of the principal residence of the missions of the Hurons, calling it by the name of Sainte Marie, it will be so much homage rendered to her, for what we are to her and hold from her, and of what we wish to be to her forever. Besides, St. Joseph having been chosen for the Patron of this country—and consequently the first and principal church which shall be built among the Hurons being destined for him —we ought not to have taken any other protectress for our house than the Blessed Virgin, his Spouse, in order not to separate those whom God has bound so closely." (*Relations* 19, 137).

Though Teanausteiyé, to which the mission of St. Joseph had been transferred in 1638 from Ihonatiria, ceased to be a residence after 1639, it continued to be a mission, as it was one of the principal Huron towns. As is well known, the Iroquois on July 4th, 1648, wiped out this town killing its missionary, Blessed Anthony Daniel, S. J.

The Iroquois raid of 1648 was but a prelude to the great raid of 1649. On March 16th in the latter year the Huron villages of St. Ignace and St. Louis were destroyed, the inhabitants being either massacred or enslaved. Blessed John de Brébeuf was martyred at St. Ignace on the afternoon of March the 16th, while Blessed Gabriel Lallemant's sufferings were not completed until March 17th. The following day, March 18th, was the vigil of the feast of St. Joseph. Fort Sainte Marie, the Jesuit headquarters in Huronia, expected that its turn was next. Father Paul Ragueneau thus describes the turn of events in the report, which he wrote from St. Joseph's Island, Huronia, June 1st, 1649:

"All night our French were in arms waiting to see at our gates this enemy. We redoubled our devotions in which were our strongest hopes, since our help could come only from heaven. Seeing ourselves on the eve of the feast of the glorious St. Joseph, the patron of this country, we found ourselves constrained to have recourse to a Protector so powerful. We made a vow to say each month, each a Mass in his honor, during the space of a whole year, for those who should be priests. And all, as many as there were people here, joined to this by a vow sundry penances, for the purpose of preparing us more holily for the accomplishment of God's will concerning us, whether for life or for death; for we all regarded ourselves as so many victims consecrated to our Lord who must await from His

hand the hour which we shall be sacrificed for His glory, without undertaking to delay or wishing to hasten the moments thereof. The whole day passed in a profound silence on both sides—the country being in terror and in expectation of some new misfortune. On the 19th, the feast of the great St. Joseph, a sudden panic fell on the hostile camp—some withdrawing in disorder and others thinking only of flight. Their captains were constrained to yield to the terror which had seized them; they precipitated their retreat, driving forth in haste a part of their captives, who were burdened above their strength like pack horses with the spoils which the victorious were carrying off." (*Relations*, 34, 135).

One can imagine how fervently St. Joseph's day was celebrated in Fort Sainte Marie, in that final year of its existence. Five years before, on February 28th, 1644, Pope Urban VIII had granted a Plenary Indulgence, the concession to be valid for seven years, to all the faithful who being truly penitent for their sins and having confessed and received Holy Communion visit the Church of the Priests of the Society of Jesus of the Residence of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Province of the Hurons in New France on the feast of St. Joseph and there pray for peace amongst Christian princes, the extirpation of heresy and the exaltation of Holy Mother the Church. In June, 1649, the Jesuits decided to abandon Fort Sainte Marie as being now too exposed to the attacks of the Iroquois. They retired with the remnant of the Hurons to Saint Joseph's Island. This in turn had to be abandoned the following year and Huronia became a desert for a century. To-day to the church of the Jesuit Fathers at Sainte Marie in Huronia pilgrims flock each summer to enliven their piety in those sites hallowed by the blood of martyrs and to benefit their souls by gaining a Plenary Indulgence which takes place of that granted by Pope Urban VIII for the old Fort Sainte Marie in 1644. It is interesting to not that the original of the Brief of 1644 is yet preserved in Canada.

The *Relations* of 1663-4 gives us Father Nouvel's description of how his party of wandering Algonquins of Tadousac celebrated St. Joseph's day:

"On the 18th (of March), we prepared ourselves for the celebration of the feast of St. Joseph, Patron of New France. Our savages began with a strict fast and confession which they made on the evening before. On the day following the confession they heard Mass and received Communion with great devotion, favored by the beautiful day which God gave us. After saying their beads in the afternoon, they prepared a fine bonfire for the evening, there being no lack of wood for this purpose. I chanted the Te Deum with the two Frenchmen and the savages added their spiritual hymns, besides the discharge of their rifles, which they redoubled the testimony of the respect and confidence which they have towards this great saint." (*Relations* 49, 21-23).

One cannot help feeling that these good Algonquins solved the problem of how best to combine the spiritual and material celebration of the feast.

Had Father Allouez had his way, Lake Michigan would to-day be called Lake St. Joseph; for on entering Lake Michigan in 1667, on the 16th of March, he made the following entry in his journal:

"The Vigil of St. Joseph, *Patron of all Canada*, finding us in this Lake of the Illinois, we gave it the name of that great saint; accordingly we shall call it from this time forward Lake St. Joseph." (*Relations* 60, 153).

Of the various forms in which St. Joseph's title as Patron of the country appears in the Jesuit Relations, the form given by Father Allouez is the most beautiful and the most prophetic—*St. Joseph, Patron of all Canada.*

We have seen how the Franciscans were responsible for St. Joseph being chosen as Canada's Patron Saint in 1624; and how wonderfully the Jesuits fostered and developed the devotion to that glorious patron in the years during which they were, with a few secular priests, the sole clergy in Canada. We must next say a word as to the work of the Sulpicians. In 1642 Monsieur Jean Jacques Olier saw the two great dreams of his life fulfilled—he established the society of St. Sulpice at Paris for the sanctification of the diocesan clergy and, through the society of Notre Dame of Montreal, he founded Ville Marie, Canada's greatest city. He was unable to go to Canada himself with Maisonneuve and Jeanne Mance to found the city of Mary in the island of Montreal but in 1657 the year of his death, he was able to send four Sulpicians to Ville Marie, two of whom Fathers Vignal and Lemaitre were slain by the Iroquois three years later. In 1663 the Society of Notre Dame ceded its rights and duties to the Society of St. Sulpice, which henceforth became the owner and lord of the Island of Montreal.

From the very beginning there was a special devotion to St. Joseph at Ville Marie. Monsieur de la Dauversière who had bought the Island of Montreal in 1640 and with Father Olier founded the Society of Notre Dame which led to the establishment of Ville Marie, had in 1636 founded in France the Hospital Sisters of St. Joseph. He also arranged that Jeanne Mance should establish the first hospital in Ville Marie. This heroic pioneer of the lay trained nurses of Canada established her humble hospital in Montreal in 1642—the Hotel Dieu. In 1659 she brought from France three religious of the Hospital Sisters of St. Joseph who became the foundresses of the Religious of St. Joseph of the Hotel Dieu of Montreal. The chapel of this hospital which was the first church in Montreal and for the time being served as temporary parish church, was, as Bishop Laval notes in 1660, dedicated to St. Joseph (Relatio Missionis Canadensis anno 1660 ad Sanctam Sedem missa, published in the Mandements des Evèques de Québec, 1, 23.) Of this church the Montreal namesake and disciple of St. Jeanne d'Arc was sacristan for seventeen years. It was here that Sister Morin, the first Canadian sister of St. Joseph, took the Holy Habit on March 20th, 1663. "Not on the 19th," she notes, as she wrote the convent annals in 1697, "because in our church, which was then serving as the parish church, was being celebrated the very solemn feast of the *patron and general protector of all Canada.*" (*Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu de Montreal, rédigées par la Soeur Morin,* Montreal, 1921, p. 153.)

We have just mentioned the Venerable Bishop Laval. His great devotion was to the Holy Family, Jesus, Mary and Joseph, and it was to the Holy Family that he dedicated his seminary in Quebec. That he recognized St. Joseph as the Patron of Canada is evident from a phrase of his found in the letter which he wrote on the 15th of September, 1668, to the Sulpician Indian missionaries, Fathers Trouvé and Fénelon. Begging Christ to bless their labors he concludes as follows: "We beg it most humbly by His merits, by the intercession of His Holy Mother, of the Blessed Joseph, special Patron of this rising Church, of all the

tutelary angels of the souls under our charge and of all the saints who are the protectors of this Christian Church." (*Mandements* 1, p. 75.)

Bishop Laval's successor in the See of Quebec, Monseigneur de Saint Vallier, was invited by the parish priest and church wardens of Ville Marie in 1693 to establish in that parish a confraternity in honor of St. Joseph. The good Sulpician Father who was the curé "having remarked in his parishioners for several years a quite special devotion to St. Joseph, Patron of this country," asked the establishment of a confraternity in honor of the saint. In answer to this request, the Bishop of Quebec by a formal canonical document established in 1693 for Ville Marie and adjoining territory "a holy society and confraternity of persons of both sexes specially devoted to the cult of great St. Joseph, first Protector and Patron of this colony." (*Mandements des Evêques de Queébec* 1, pp. 295-297.)

St. Joseph's Day had been declared in 1621 by Pope Gregory XV a holyday of obligation in the Church. In the revised list of holydays of obligation published by Pope Urban VIII in 1648—a list which contains apart from Sundays thirty-three holydays of obligation for the universal church, St. Joseph's Day is included. That, at least at the end of the seventeenth century, St. Joseph's Day, March 19th, was observed in Canada as a holyday of obligation, we know for certain from the list of holydays of obligation observed in the diocese of Quebec, which Mgr. de Saint Vallier published in or about 1694. That list contains, in addition to the Sundays, thirty-four other holydays of obligation and amongst them in March is that of "St. Joseph, Patron of the country." (*Mandements* 1, 335).

The evidence just submitted will surely suffice to show that St. Joseph was chosen in 1624 as Canada's patron saint and that throughout the seventeenth century he was constantly invoked under that title. For the first forty-four years of the eighteenth century it will be sufficient to mention that the feast of "St. Joseph, Patron of the country" remained a holyday of obligation. The Rituel du Diocèse de Québec printed in Paris in 1703 and published by the authority of Mgr. de Saint Vallier is another contemporary evidence to the fact that St. Joseph was honored at that period as the primary patron of the country, the secondary patron being St. Francis Xavier.

In 1744, the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de Pontbriand, realizing the difficulty of observing so many days of obligation in Canada, owing to climatic, economic and political conditions, and not wishing that any of the feasts should be celebrated less than they had been, boldly transferred eighteen of these holydays of obligation to the nearest available Sunday. Amongst the feasts the solemnization of which was thus transferred to Sunday was that of St. Joseph. St. Joseph's Day was henceforth to be observed on the first Sunday after March 13th. (*Mandements* 2, 42.)

The British conquest of Canada in 1759-60 in no way interfered with St. Joseph's title as patron of Canada, any more than the English conquest of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries interfered with the title of St. Patrick as apostle and patron of Ireland. Thus in an indult accorded by the Holy See, 13th of June, 1795, in answer to a request of the Bishop of Quebec (whose diocese then included all British North America apart from Newfoundland), it was stated that the "feast of St. Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin

Mary and principal patron" (officium S. Josephi, Sponsi Beatae Virginis Mariae, patroni principalis), as often as it occurred during Holy Week might be transferred to the Tuesday after Low Sunday (*Recueil d' Ordonnances Synodales et Episcopales du Diocèse de Québec*, suivi d'une collection des indults accordés au diocèse, Second edition, Quebec, 1865, p. 167). It was felt however that under the British regime the number of holydays of obligation should still be further reduced. Accordingly the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Hubert, having obtained the necessary indults from the Holy See in 1791 and 1792, announced in 1793 that the only holy days of obligation in Canada would be, in addition to Sundays, the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany and Ascension of Our Lord, Corpus Christi, the Annunciation, the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul and All Saints. The feast of St. Joseph was to continue to be solemnized on the Sunday after March 13th. (*Mandements*, vol. 2, p. 459, 470, 473,; *Recueil* pp. 164-5 and 82-3.)

The first document of the nineteenth century on this subject is the calendar of feasts of the diocese of Quebec published by Bishop Denaut in 1805. St. Joseph is mentioned on March 19th as "the Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the principal patron of this diocese." (*Mandements* vol. 2, p. 538). The diocese of Quebec had then parishes and missions in the present provinces of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The feast of St. Joseph continued to be solemnized on the Sunday after March 13th. In a list published in 1830 by Bishop Panet of Quebec of the feasts solemnized on Sundays is mentioned expressedly, that, on the first Sunday after March 13th, there is solemnized the feast of "St. Joseph, primary patron of the country." (*Mandements* vol. 3, p. 275).

In 1851 was held the First Provincial Council of Quebec. There were present the Archbishop of Quebec, the Bishops of Kingston, Montreal, Bytown, Toronto, Charlottetown, Newfoundland, (the last named as a visitor only) and the coadjutor bishops of Quebec, Montreal and Kingston (the last named being also the administrator of the diocese.) The Fathers of the Council asked permission of the Holy See that the feasts of the Purification, Assumption and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Joseph, of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel and of the patron saint or titular of the parishes, whose solemnization is transferred to the preceding or subsequent Sunday, might be thus celebrated even when the Sunday be of the second class—a permission which had already been granted for the feast of the Assumption. In answer, the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, on the 20th of June, 1852, conceded this right as regards the Sunday following the feast. (*Acta et Decreta Primi Concilii Provinciae Quebecensis* pp. 79-80.) The request had not been granted for the Sunday preceding the feast. So the Fathers of the Second Provincial Council of Quebec, who met in 1854, asked that when these feasts could not be celebrated on the Sunday following, owing to the rank of the Sunday, they might be celebrated on the preceding Sunday. The Propaganda accorded this privilege, 13th of May, 1855. (*Acta et Decreta Secundi Concilii Provinciae Quebecensis* pp. 86-7.) Here it may be added that on the same day the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda announced that Pope Pius IX had in answer to the petition of the Fathers of this

Council reduced the number of the holydays of obligation in Canada to the six we have at present.

In 1853 there was published at Quebec an Appendix to the Compendium of the Roman Ritual for the use of the dioceses of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec. This book instructs parish priests to announce on the Sunday before the feast or the solemnization of the feast of St. Joseph that "Next Sunday (or whatever the day be) we shall celebrate the feast of St. Joseph, primary patron of this country." (*Appendix au Compendium du Rituel Roman à l'usage des diocèses de la province ecclésiastique de Québec*, seconde partie p. 51, Québec, 1853.) In the 1874 edition of this Appendix to the Roman Ritual, St. Joseph is commemorated as "primary patron of Canada" both on his feast of March 19th and on the feast of his Patronage on the third Sunday after Easter. The 1890 edition of this Appendix to the Roman Ritual records Saint Joseph's feast days and titles in precisely the same manner.

According to the Canon Law of the Catholic Church the choice of a national patron must be confirmed by the Holy See. (Canon 1278 of the present code.) The choice of St. Joseph as the patron of Canada was probably confirmed by Pope Urban VIII in 1637, for in that year, as Father Le Jeune records in his Relation of 1637, His Holiness granted a plenary indulgence for the feast "of our glorious patron and protector St. Joseph." (*Jesuit Relations* 11, 47). If the words "patron and protector" were used by the Pope, that would certainly constitute a papal confirmation. As we lack a copy of this papal brief of 1637 the matter is not quite certain. Beginning however with the already mentioned indult of 1795 we have a number of papal indults which describe Saint Joseph as the patron of Canada. Thus in an indult of the 16th of November, 1834, he was described "primary patron of the Canadian country and of the diocese (of Quebec)." This phrase occurs in the indult granting permission that the feast of the Patronage of Saint Joseph (a secondary feast of St. Joseph, celebrated on the third Sunday after Easter) which had not yet been extended to the universal church, be celebrated in Quebec as a double of the second class "utpote primi Canadensis regionis et dioecesis Patroni." (*Recueil* p. 234.) That certainly constituted of a papal acknowledgment that St. Joseph is the patron of Canada. It was not however the only instance of this kind. On the 4th of June, 1854, the Fathers of the Second Provincial Council of Quebec, namely, the Archbishop of Quebec, the Bishop of Montreal, the Apostolic Administrator of Kingston and the Bishops of St. Hyacinth, Bytown, Toronto and Three Rivers, sought permission to add to the Mass of the Espousals of the Blessed Virgin Mary a collect commemorating St. Joseph, "since there exists in the country a great devotion towards Saint Joseph, who of old was elected patron of New France." (quum magna existit devotio hac in regione erga B. Joseph qui olim in patronum novae Franciae electus est.) These words are embodied in the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith which granted the request, 18th of May, 1855. (*Acta et Decreta Secundi Concilii Provinciae Quebecensis*, p. 85.) On the 17th of December, 1844, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, having been asked, if when the feast was transferred, the creed should be recited in the Mass of the Patronage of Saint Joseph, celebrated in Canada as a double of the second class on account of his being the primary patron of Canada and of Quebec Diocese, the answer was: "Yes, if it be certain that the

patronage was formally approved by the Holy See." (*Recueil*, p. 234.) That there might be no doubt on this question Mgr. Baillargeon, the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec, sought in 1858 this formal papal confirmation, which was granted the 20th of January, 1859. In this decree it is stated that from documents presented to the Holy See, it appears that at least from the year 1635, the custom has existed in Canada of invoking Saint Joseph as the primary patron of the whole region (apparet saltem ab anno MDCXXXV in regione Canadensi usum invaluisse invocandi veluti Praecipuum totius regionis Patronum Sanctum Josephum) and of celebrating his feast on the 19th of March as a double of the first class, without however the obligation of assisting at Mass and abstaining from servile works. The Holy Father in view of these facts especially in view of the long observed custom (attentis expositis ac potissimum ratione habita vetustissimae constitudinis hactenus observatae,) decreed that there should be no change. (*Recueil d' Ordonnances Synodales et Episcopales du diocèse de Québec*, pp. 166-7.)

During the years 1867-1873 Canada extended its boundaries from Prince Edward Island to Vancouver Island. As Saint Joseph was the patron of all Canada, the whole Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific could now salute him as its national patron. In 1876, the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec, which then embraced the present ecclesiastical provinces of Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa, asked the Holy See to proclaim Saint Ann, patroness of the Civil and Ecclesiastical province of Quebec "without prejudice, however, to the title which already from the year 1624 Saint Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary, possesses as patron of the whole of Canada (sine tamen prejudicio tituli quem jam ab anno 1624 habet S. Joseph, Sponsus Beatae Vinginis Mariae, tanquam patronus totius Canadensis Regionis.) The request was granted. (*Mandements des Evêques* de Québec, 6, 36-37.)

Since 1834, the Catholic Church in Canada has celebrated two feasts of Saint Joseph, his celestial birthday on March 19th and his Patronage on the third Sunday after Easter. In 1870 Pope Pius IX, declared Saint Joseph patron of the universal Church. On the 24th of June, 1911, Pope Pius X changed the title of the feast of the Patronage of Saint Joseph to that of the Solemnity of Saint Joseph, and made this feast celebrated in Easter time, the principal feast of St. Joseph. The feast of March 19th lost its octave and ceased to be a holyday of obligation. (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. III., p. 351.) Two years later the feast of the Solemnity of Saint Joseph was moved from the third Sunday after Easter to the third Wednesday after Easter, though permission was granted that the feast should be solemnized on the Sunday; at the same time the feast of March 19th was reduced in rank. (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. v., p. 458.) However, as by virtue of the Code of Canon Law the feast of Saint Joseph on March 19th became once more, as it had been from 1621 to 1911, a holyday of obligation, it was once again raised to the rank of a double of the first class. (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. x., p. 26). As the result of these changes the last edition of our Canadian *Appendix to the Roman Ritual* invokes Saint Joseph as the patron Saint of Canada on Saint Joseph's Sunday (the third after Easter, the day the feast of his solemnity is solemnized) rather than on Saint Joseph's day, March 19th.

The first time all the bishops of Canada met in Council was at the First plenary Council of Quebec held A. D. 1909. The Fathers of the Council encour-

aged in every way the devotion to Saint Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary, stating amongst other things that "our (Canadian) Church was hardly born when the Saint was chosen by the missionaries as its patron"—Quare beatum illum ecclesiae nostrae vix natae patronum a missionariis electum. (*Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Quebecensis Primi*, no. 579, p. 418). In the acclamations solemnly chanted at the end of the Council, the Saint is saluted as "Blessed Joseph, Spouse and Guardian of the Blessed Mother of God and from eternity chosen as the Foster Father of the Child Jesus. . . Primary patron of this our own country from the beginning." (Primus huic nostro regione patronus ab initio praepositus) and again "O Blessed Joseph and Holy Mother Ann, patrons of Canada our native land and of this illustrious province (of Quebec), preserve us who are pilgrims in this valley of tears that we may all reach our celestial Fatherland." (*ibid* pp. 96-9.) If any Canadian Catholic lack devotion to St. Joseph or be ignorant of the fact that he is Canada's national patron, it certainly is not the fault of the Fathers of the Plenary Council of Quebec. The Appendix of the Roman Ritual revised and reissued by their order directs that on the second Sunday after Easter, the parish priest shall say:

"On Sunday next we shall celebrate the Solemnity of St. Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary and patron of the universal Church. Devotion towards St. Joseph has always been fervent in this land, and, almost at the beginning of colonization, in 1624, this glorious Patriarch was chosen as Primary Patron of Canada." (*Appendix to the Roman Ritual*, Revised and Reissued by order of the Fathers of the First Plenary Council of Quebec, p. 69, Quebec, 1921.)

In 1924 the tercentenary of the choice of St. Joseph as Canada's patron saint was celebrated. From the above historical summary it is evident that since 1624 St. Joseph has been acknowledged as Canada's patron saint and that St. Joseph's feast in March or St. Joseph's Sunday, the third after Easter, has been celebrated by Canadians for three centuries as the feast of thir national patron.

JOHN J. O'GORMAN, D. C. L.

THE GIFTS OF KINGS

Recently the anniversary of Stephen Collins Foster, the author of so many popular songs, was celebrated in Pittsburgh, his native place, and in Bardstown, where he wrote *My Old Kentucky Home*. Foster was the friend of a certain Colonel Brown who lived in a stately brick mansion quite close to Bardstown, Kentucky; and here it was that the inspiration came to him to write his immortal song. At the time when the anniversary was celebrated, the Rowan mansion, and the adjoining estate known as Federal Hill, passed into the possession of the State and became a public museum. The rooms of the house have been left intact, and the table where Foster sat when he composed the song, *My Old Kentucky Home*, is shown to visitors.

Those who came to Bardstown for the Foster Anniversary were also interested in the old cathedral, the corner-stone of which was laid by Bishop Flaget in 1816. This church attracted so many visitors that the pastor was forced to provide

guides to explain to them its rare collection of pictures. Tradition has it that the kings of Europe made donations to this old church, built more than a century ago in the backwoods of north central Kentucky. Was this not a strange story? How could this church, even though it was the first cathedral west of the Alleghaney Mountains, attract the attention of kings? How did it happen that kings heard of the old church? Mr. Young Allison, a well known writer and popular lecturer of Louisville, set himself to work to find an answer to these questions, and to give the results of his investigations to the public.

It was not Allison's first visit to quiet little Bardstown. He was known to the people and to the former pastor, Father J. C. O'Connell, with whom he had often talked about old St. Joseph's Cathedral, now St. Joseph's Church. It was said that Louis Philippe, long before he became king of France, had made valuable donations to the Kentucky church. But were there any proofs of the assertions? Were there any documents? Had history mentioned the facts? Was it all tradition? Vague tradition?

The pastor was forced to acknowledge that there were no documents either in Bardstown or in Louisville, to which the See had been transferred in 1841. Allison talked with others, but no one could recall documentary proofs. However, the older members of the town clung tenaciously to the belief that Louis Philippe had been a benefactor to the cathedral. On returning to Louisville, Mr. Allison read a paper before the members of the Pilson Club, in which he denied that there was any proof for the assertions that the King of France had enriched the church by his personal gifts. It was all a legend, and should be allowed to perish with other legends.

Mr. Allison won his audience by a touching account of the heroic work of the Catholic priests who labored in Kentucky over a century ago. He seemed to go over the ground so thoroughly that there was no answer to his arguments. He was seeking the truth, but in setting it forth to his audience he had robbed the old church of Bardstown of much of its glory. If the truth was wanted, future visitors would have to be told about the myth of the King of France.

On the following morning, after the lecture, a prominent priest of Louisville had just finished reading the account of Mr. Allison's talk, when he was called to the telephone.

"Have you read the morning paper?" he was asked.

"I have it in my hands now."

"Have you read Mr. Allison's speech?"

"I just finished reading it."

"What do you think about it?"

"He seems to have proved his point fully. He paid a beautiful tribute to the early Catholic missionaries in Kentucky. Although he is not a Catholic, he is evidently looking for the truth about the Church in Kentucky. His conclusions seem to me to be final."

"What shall we do about it?"

"Nothing is to be done that I can see. We have been wrong about the matter; let us acknowledge the truth and thank Mr. Allison for his trouble."

Two days later the writer of this article received a marked copy of the Louisville Courier Journal with the account of Mr. Allison's speech before the Pilson

Club. The conclusions of Mr. Allison came to me as a shock. If any place in this world is dear to me it is the old Cathedral at Bardstown. I had spent my childhood days almost beneath the shadow of the old church. I had served Mass there for many years. I cannot explain why but as an Acolyte I always sought the privilege of putting out the candles after the evening services. That was long before the days of electric lights; and when I had extinguished the last candle, there was left only the mystic light of the sanctuary lamp. I still recall the feeling of awe that came upone me. I was alone with God and His angels. Heaven had bent down to earth. When in later years I felt that God had called me to the priesthood, St. Joseph's Church became still more sacred to me. On leaving the pastor, the night before I started for the Jesuit novitiate, I made a request of him —the privilege of preaching at the centennial celebration of the laying of the corner-stone. Of course, he acceded to my petition. Twenty-two years passed by; and in 1916 I preached the sermon as I had desired.

Before I undertake to set forth the arguments against Mr. Allison's speech, I shall briefly state the actual happenings about the old Church and Louis Philippe. When he was the young Prince of Orleans, he came to the United States as an exile in 1796, and at the suggestion of Washington made a tour of what was then the far west. The whole intinerary of the Prince was marked out by Washington. He went as far west as central Kentucky, and, among the other towns and outposts, visited Bardstown, which was among the oldest settlements in the state. He stayed in the little town for a day and two nights. As we learn from the diary which he kept, he was quite sick and was forced to remain in bed; but as there was a circus in the town that day, he was abandoned by the good keepers of the inn, who could not lose the opportunity of witnessing the fun of the circus. Later when in Cuba, Louis Philippe met Father Flaget, a Sulpician priest, who was afterwards to become the Bishop of Bardstown; and received from his hands a purse in the name of the Catholics of the Island.

Around this short visit of Louis Philippe to Bardstown there grew a vague report that he had remained in Kentucky for some years, and even that he had taught French. One has only to read European history to understand the falsity of this report. The whereabouts of the prince can be pointed out year after year. He was heir to the throne of France, and active in continental politics; and at no time was his identity unknown.

Here was the first weakness in Mr. Allison's paper before the Pilson Club in Louisville. He exaggerated the report of Louis Philippe's long stay in Kentucky and then had no difficulty in disproving it. Having succeeded so satisfactorily with this part of his lecture, he predisposed the minds of his listeners to accept the second and principle statement, namely, that Louis Philippe had not made any gifts to the old church at Bardstown. There is no reason to believe that Mr. Allison had any intention of deceiving his audience; but he made the mistake of identifying two things in the life of Louis Philippe: (1) his protracted stay in Kentucky, and (2) his gifts to the Church in Bardstown. He easily disproved the first and the inattentive reader or listener would readily take it for granted that the second part had also been proved. In fact, the very title of his paper carried this deceptive note. It was: *The Curious Legend of Louis Philippe in Kentucky*. Note it well! The Curious Legend! There is but one legend, according

to Mr. Allison, one legend with two parts: (1) Louis Philippe remained a long time in or around Bardstown, and, (2) later gave valuable presents to the Catholic Cathedral there.

We owe it to Rev. William Pike, the present pastor of Bardstown, for having pointed out the evident fallacy in Mr. Allison's method. Father Pike in a scholarly article (*The Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, January, 1926), proved conclusively that there were two entirely different questions, and that Mr. Allison should have entitled his paper: *The Curious Legends of Louis Philippe.*

At the present, I am concerned with only the second part of Mr. Allison's paper: did Louis make any donations to the old Cathedral of Bardstown. I have no intention of defending much in the character of Louis Philippe, King of France. I shall leave history to decide whether he was a success as a ruler. Certainly he was not very devout or faithful in his duties as a Christian. Nor shall I discuss whether it would enhance the value of a painting or other gift because it was from his royal highness. One point that I do wish to insist on, is the force and trustworthiness of tradition in the Church. The older people of the St. Joseph's parish in Bardstown were not convinced by Mr. Allison's statements. They had heard the story over and over again from their fathers and grandfathers, and believed it true, even though they could refer to no written documents in confirmation of their belief.

I had little encouragement in seeking for a reply to Mr. Allison, but my attention had been called to a speech made in reference to Louis Philippe and Bishop Flaget by Representative Wickliffe in Washington, D. C. early in the century. The date of the speech was vague. Were speeches printed at that time? What federal documents would contain the speech of Mr. Wickliffe? What was the object of the speech, and would it bear upon the question at issue?

I knew that Senator Benton of Missouri had gathered together in many large tomes the principle speeches in both houses of Congress, from the first meeting to almost the middle of the last century. This period would cover every possible date of the donation of the pictures. I turned to the general index and found reference to Flaget. Could there be any possible connection between this single reference and donations by Louis Philippe?

There before me was the information I was seeking. Tradition was right. The gifts of Louis Philippe to the Bishop of Bardstown consisting of pictures and other church furniture, sent from Lyons to Versailles, and shipped from that port to New Orleans. The federal officials there insisted on collecting duties on the gifts; and it was this incident that caused a record of the shipment to be made, with the names of the donor and the recipient. Bishop Flaget paid the duties under protest, and then set to work through the Representative of his district to have them refunded. The speech of Representative Wickliffe was delivered in Congress on the 19th of March, 1832, but no mention was made of the date of the shipment or the arrival of the gifts. Could this information be found?

At the time when Allison read his paper before the Pilson Club in Louisville, Honorable Ben Johnson was Representative in Congress from the Bardstown district. I sent him a copy of the speech of Mr. Wickliffe and asked whether the records could be possibly traced back to the landing of the goods at New Orleans. Mr. Johnson informed me that while the early records of the New York port had

been destroyed, those of New Orleans had been preserved. There was no index to this huge conglomeration of documents in the southern port; but every possible effort would be made to find the connecting papers.

After some weeks had passed, I received a telegram from Washington with the brief statement that the original bill of lading had been found. In this bill of lading (1824) it was stated that certain boxes contained pictures and other church furniture from Louis Philippe, Prince of Orleans, to Bishop Flaget of Bardstown. The proofs were now at hand! Tradition had been verified!

Now that we had proved our point we were anxious for even more complete information. Representative Wickliffe had made his speech on March 19, 1832, and shipments had reached the New Orleans port in 1824. Evidently there had been difficulties in getting the duties set aside. Could there be more records? If, so, they would be in Washington among the reports of Congress. Again Representative Johnson set the experts to work; and the treasures of information came to light. It was found that the matter had come up repeatedly and that in one of the motions made in 1828, it was again clearly stated that the gifts were from Louis Philippe, Prince of Orleans, to Bishop Flaget. Such was the result of our investigations. Three public documents, each stating in precise words the very information we had sought. The legend had vanished! Sober historical documents had taken its place!

Representative Johnson went to the trouble and expense of having each of the documents photographed and copies pasted in ten large scrapbooks, which were later deposited in St. Louis University, Notre Dame University, Louisville Public Library, Nazareth Academy, Kentucky, Loretto Academy, Kentucky, etc.

How could such important information be allowed to perish? It is known that Bishop Flaget kept many little diaries and that these books were in existence when his life was written by Martin Spalding, later Archbishop of Baltimore. Only one of them is now known to exist, but it does not cover the period under discussion. Spalding mentions the gifts in his account of the early Missionaries of Kentucky.

But another King, Francis I, of the Two Sicilies, also gave presents to the Cathedral at Bardstown. Under each of these sacred pictures donated by him is inscribed the letters: *Franciscus I Utriusque Ciciliae Rex.* Mr. Baker Smith, who lately died in Bardstown at the age of ninety-four, and Mr. John Talboot, an octogenarian, both have borne testimony that this Latin inscription has been on the pictures for over seventy-five years, and there is every reason to believe that they were on the frames when the pictures arrived in this country. Francis I was a brother-in-law of Louis Philippe, and the only possible explanation of his gifts to the cathedral in the western world, is the influence of his sister or the king.

Thus did it come about that a backwoods cathedral, for so the old Cathedral at Bardstown was called, came into possession of the gifts of kings. Never again will the records be lost; but even these records, written clearly in official documents, were not more accurate than tradition among the Catholic people.

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

JOHN ENGLAND REDIVIVUS*

It is a rare achievement in authorship for an intensely busy man to produce within a lustrum two biographical works of ponderous content that evidence exceptional scholarship. This has been accomplished by Dr. Guilday. His *Life and Times of John Carroll*, published five years ago, was acclaimed as the most notable contribution to American Church history since the publication of John Gilmary Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, nearly fifty years ago. *The Life and Times of John England* is a work evincing even greater research and more profound study than *The Life and Times of John Carroll*. That it will evoke even acrid criticism is beyond question; that it will be inadequately evaluated may be surmised; that it will revive dormant antipathies, may be predicated as a certainty. Despite these forebodings, *The Life and Times of John England* must be rated as being no conventional biography, for apotheosis yields places to humanization and documents are the warp and woof of a remarkable synthesis. Dr. Guilday is critical but not of men and motives. His statements are buttressed with evidence much of which had never before been examined, or evaluated.

The field of American Church History is only partially explored. Dr. Guilday has blazed new trails and opened larger vistas for the student. Yet much remains to be done. Only by co-ordination of individual efforts and the adoption of a wider outlook can we secure an adequate conspectus of all that the term American Church history connotes, and, inferentially, a correct appraisal of the vast heritage which has come to us from lands across the Atlantic that have so generously contributed to the upbuilding of the fabric of Catholicism in English-speaking America. Dr. Guilday has demonstrated how important it is to obtain accurate knowledge (not information) of persons, places, and conditions in the countries whence came to American shores the men who planted the seed which has germinated and fructified into goodly harvests.

It is not generally known, perhaps, that in two earlier volumes, *The Norfolk Schism*, and *The Church in Virginia* he gave us the prologue to his *magnum opus* whose *raison d'être* is found in the following: "Owing to the scattered and unorganized condition of our archival sources, the more prudent method [as the norm of the historical explanation of the one hundred and forty years of the established hierarchical life in this country] is to center around the great figures in our Church the story of their times; with the hope that, as the years pass, our documentary knowledge will be increased and the institutional factors of our Catholic life become more salient and tangible." Hence the work on John England, for owing to the "peculiar conditions prevailing at the time both within and without the Church, everything he did assumed national importance."

Ireland, in common with France sent in the early days many "distinguished personalities" to the Western world, not all of them to the American mainland; Burke, O'Donnell, Fleming, Mullock, some of whom were contemporaries of John England. Burke, not unlike England in his attitude toward fellow-laborers of

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**The Life and Times of John England, First Bishop of Charleston* (1786-1842). By Peter Guilday. New York: The America Press, 1927. Two volumes. Pp. xii + 596, 577. Frontispiece, and Index.

French nationality, has been the subject of a *dissertatio contentiosa* in a volume of "Memoirs" compiled by a prelate whose literary indiscretions were historically notorious. O'Donnell's career was unique in many respects; he is the only instance as far as is known of a Catholic colonial bishop who received a pension from the British Government; Fleming caused the passing into innocuous desuetude of the infamous penal laws which the fanatical Palliser rigidly enforced in England's oldest colony, and he left behind him the most distinctively Celtic Church in North America—the largest in point of size (except Notre Dame, in Montreal) north of the Rio Grande. It will interest New Yorkers possibly to learn that it was while assisting as one of the consecrators of this noble edifice that the great John Hughes got the inspiration to build St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. Mullock, "the intellectual giant," militant, too in an ecclesiastical sense, was the greatest "Home Ruler" who ever adorned an American Episcopal see and to him, in addition to its system of denominational education, Newfoundland owes in a large measure its charter of Responsible Government, from which emanated what has been not inaptly termed the "Magna Charta of British Dominions-beyond-the-Seas." Readers of Dr. Guilday's lengthy discussion of the fanatical Samuel Morse, of telegraph fame, may be surprised to learn that the idea of a transatlantic cable emanated from the fertile brain of the great Catholic Bishop, John Thomas Mullock.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urguentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

When John England entered upon his Episcopal career in the United States his lines did not fall in pleasant places; he came to a heritage that was heavily encumbered, for from 1815 to 1820 there were many dissensions in the nascent Church, which had become "a veritable epidemic of misrule" as in the years immediately following the death of the apostolic John Carroll "new and variant elements had arisen to place and preferment in the Church. Party feeling and racial discord had become vocal, and the building of the House of God in the six dioceses of the United States was kept almost at a standstill."

Archbishop Maréchal who occupied the see of Baltimore when Bishop England came to Charleston, in a *Report* to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide (October 16, 1818) stated the lamentable condition of the Church. He was convinced that the root of the evil lay in the rebellious attitude of individual Irish priests whom he mentions by name:

> *Non Americani, non Angli, non aliarum Europeanorum gentium advenae, pacem perturbarunt aut perturbant, Carolopoli, Norfolkio, Philadelphiae, etc.; sed sacerdotes Hiberni intemperantiae aut ambitioni dediti, una cum contribulibus suis, quos innumeris artibus sibi devinciunt.*

Bishop Plessis of Quebec, who had been sent by the Holy See as Apostolic Delegate to the United States, reported as follows:

> Je crois aussi de mon devoir de réitérer a Vòtre Eminence [Cardinal Fontana] que les Catholiques des Etats-Unis out, en général, beaucoup de respect et d'affection pour leurs éveques français, et que s'il y a des plaintes

> contre cette nation, elles sont sucitées par des moines irlandais, vagabonds, ambitieux, qui pour le malheur de ces diocèses, voudraient y occuper les premières places.

Dr. Guilday says of the *Reports* of Maréchal and Plessis: "While the sincerity of their authors is beyond question, it must be remembered that Maréchal and Plessis displayed in this correspondence a strong anti-Irish bias." By way of corrective, there is introduced a lengthy document from the Dominican archives of Tallaght, near Dublin, written by Father William Vincent Harold, O. P., in Rome about the end of the year 1820. It should be noted here that Father Harold in later years was a disturber of the peace in the Church at Philadelphia, and appealed to Henry Clay, the Secretary of State, against commands from Rome and the Vicar-General of the Dominicans. To vindicate his attitude "he pointed out that he had a precedent for his action in the appeal made by the Jesuit Superior of the State Department in 1824 against the decision of the Holy See in regard to the Society's property at Whitemarsh."

Father Harold's documents, "criticizes the clergy (of Baltimore) as being engaged mostly in teaching in colleges of Baltimore and Georgetown, and stigmatizes 'the remainder of the clergy of that See who were for the most part stationed on the estates belonging to the incorporated clergy of Maryland, which are of considerable extent, and were cultivated by slaves.' Then follows the statement Harold once made to Dr. Carroll on this subject, and it was not well received, namely, that priests, 'when appointed to superintend these estates and direct the labor of these slaves degenerate into mere farmers'." Here it may be noted that similar charges had been made three decades before by Rev. Patrick Smyth in *The Present State of the Catholic Missions conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America*, published in Dublin in 1788. The Harold document has much to say about another cause of dissension in the Church in the United States—Trusteeism from which developed the spirit of Gallicanism. Moreover, there were other causes: "The relations between Rome and Baltimore were strained at the time and the selection of the bishops for Philadelphia, Richmond, and Charleston found Maréchal and Cheverus *glacés d'effroi* at what they felt a dangerous precedent on the part of Rome" (p. 29). That the action of the Sacred Congregation in ignoring the candidates presented by the American bishops for the Sees of Philadelphia and Charleston in 1820, and in appointing to these Sees bishops who could not have known American conditions, struck Maréchal and his suffragans with fear and led them to believe that the American Church was the victim of a foreign conspiracy, no one who has read the documents can deny" (p. 31).

John England had been a prominent figure in Irish life notably in opposition to the Veto; but "the documentary evidence for his prominence in the great fight is indeed scanty" yet "tradition remains that his influence in Ireland was second only to that of Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator."

> He [England] had been editor of an influential Cork paper and conducted it with great patriotic spirit and ability. The hierarchy rather feared his influence and views, which were decidedly democratic, and a memorial, signed by nearly all the bishops in Ireland, was sent to Rome praying his Holiness to appoint him to some vacant foreign See. Some of the episcopal body seemed to fear that on the death of the Bishop of Cloyne, Dr. England might be elected to the dignity, and whether truly

or falsely, he was suspected to have been tinged with revolutionary principles. . . . (p. 123, a citation from *Life, Time, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle*).

When Bishop England came to Charleston the Southland was in a very disturbed condition. The diocese had been created largely at the instance of Archbishop Maréchal "as the best way to settle all the troubles in the Old Southern city." These troubles are minutely detailed by Dr. Guilday and cover nearly one hundred and fifty pages of his first volume. "The real danger, however, arose when factions from New York to Savannah sought to form a racial coalition for the purpose of forcing the trustee principles upon the American bishops of the day through civil legislation. Failing in this, they were planning at the time of Archbishop Maréchal's accession to the See of Baltimore to secede from the jurisdiction of the American hierarchy and set up for themselves under schismatic bishops an Independent American Catholic Church of their own creation."

> The Catholic Church in the United States has often been disturbed by this spirit of racial trouble. In many of the difficulties that have arisen since the organization of its hierarchical life, racial antagonisms have been present. Apparently, throughout much of this period one race has predominated in point of numbers and in point of representatives in the Sees of this country; and those who have broken with central diocesan rule have often made the claim that it has been the inability of the influential class in the hierarchy to understand certain insurmountable racial sentiments and policies which caused them to set up independent churches. It is highly significant, therefore, to witness in these early days of our organized Catholic life the fact that it was the same spirit of unrest over what was claimed to be a delicate ignoring on the part of the Holy See of the Irish element in the affairs of the Church, which brought the discipline of the clergy and laity to so dangerous a pass.
>
> The Irish Catholics, cleric and lay, who came to the United States during the period previous to 1815, apparently came with certain prejudices regarding Church administration (p. 164).

Charges had been made by such individuals as Smyth (mentioned above) that were "bound to create animosity between the priests who had borne the burden of the day and the heats for so many years, and the bustling and somewhat arrogant type of clergymen who came here to enjoy a liberty in some cases a license which Ireland did not afford. . . . When the Sulpicians came to the United States the feeling of animosity was diverted from the former members of the Society of Jesus to these French clerics, so many of whom rose to Episcopal honors after 1808. . . .

"The Irish clergy did not consider it blameworthy to promote the idea that the future of the American Church was in danger with so many 'foreigners' in the seats of the mighty." The antipathy to these "foreigners" was very pronounced, and Dr. Guilday says: "The absence of certain failings, political and moral, among the French clergy, placed their priestly lives in contrast with too many of their clerical brethren from the Emerald Isle" (p. 166).

The story of the divisions and scandals in Charleston before the arrival of Bishop England is neither edifying nor pertinent to this brief survey; nor is it necessary to discuss the conspiracy to organize "The Independent Catholic Church of the United States."

Bishop England was fully aware of the difficulties confronting him and "of the complexity of the struggle between the episcopal authority of Baltimore and this far-distant congregation." His first official act was the issuance of a Pastoral—the first of its kind in the history of the American Church. In the following year (1821) he "decided to publish a *Catechism* for his own diocese. Owing to the peculiar circumstances he added a question on religious toleration. Both Bishop David and Bishop Conwell criticized him to Maréchal for bringing out the new catechism. No copy of the England Catechism was found, and it is surmised it was not successful" (p. 314). This is an apparently trifling incident, but to the reviewer it has portentous implications. Then followed an episode "which caused a flurry in the ecclesiastical circles of Rome for a time"—the appearance of the *Roman Missal* which Bishop England published in New York sometime during the summer of 1822. The Sacred Congregation had understood it was to be a *translation* and not (as it really was), a reprint.

Realizing the omnipotence of the press in the United States, Bishop England informed Cardinal Fontana (May, 1822) that he intended "very shortly to begin the publication of a weekly newspaper of eight pages for the dissemination of Catholic truth. In case Cardinal Fontana wished him to refrain from using the power of the press for the sake of the Church, he would never write again *'liberavi animam meam: vos videritis!'* Dr. England was beginning to feel the effect of secret opposition of Maréchal and some of the other bishops to his projects, and if it would ease the minds of his colleagues, Cardinal Fontana was informed that his resignation was at his disposal" (p. 331).

The Bishop's next project was the establishment of a Diocesan Seminary—a huge undertaking that met with meagre success. This was followed by a "Constitution of the Diocese" which met with opposition on the part of the prelates of Philadelphia, Bardstown, and Baltimore. Dr. Guilday says:

> An echo of this can be seen in Maréchal's letter to Cardinal della Somaglia, dated Baltimore, December 21, 1824, where he writes: "*Rumor vagatur Illmum D. England Episcopum Carolopoleos condidisse constitutionem democraticum, juxta quam intendit ecclesias suae dioceseos regere; atque eam misisse ad Sacram Congregationem ut ab ipsa approbetur. Quibusnam principiis nitatur, nescio. Attamen non possum satis orare sanctissimos et eminentissimos patres ut hanc constitutionem democraticam non approbent, nisi lente admodum et post valde maturum examen. Exhibitur namque quasi multum opposita bono et prosperitati ecclesiae*" (p. 351).

There is no satisfactory evidence that Rome ever approved this "Constitution" which briefly meant the organization of the diocese into a "house of laity" and a "house of clergy," or an adaptation of "democracy" to Church government. In Section 1 of this Constitution occurs a clause on Papal Infallibility which has been interpreted in terms of Gallicanism. Bishop Maes (former Bishop of Covington, Ky.) in an article "Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis (*Le Correspondant*, vol. 250, pp. 11 ss.) makes this charge, so does Brownson, in *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, vol. iv (1850).

Meanwhile in furtherance of his programme he was now militantly engaged in the field of journalism, having launched the *United States Catholic Miscellany* (June 5, 1822), the object of which was "to supply an apparent want in the United States of North America." It met with a frigid reception on the part of

his episcopal brethren but it was a powerful agency in the dissemination of Catholic truth. Says Dr. Guilday: "Had John England done nothing else, he would have contributed more than any Catholic of his day to the general education of the American public in the fundamental principle of religious equality."

Bishop England's activities (unfortunately perhaps for both himself and the spiritual charge committed to his care) extended beyond the limits of his diocese, and we find him attempting to bring order out of the chaos consequent upon the Hogan schism in Philadelphia and the unseemly ecclesiastical brawls in New York. His intrusion into these issues brought no satisfactory results. "From the vantage point of a century [says Dr. Guilday] Bishop England's part in the trustee troubles appears foolhardy, unless it be judged in the light of a Christ-like zeal for the good of Catholicism" (p. 433).

With the passing years murky clouds of disappointment and disillusion lowered ominously on John England's episcopal horizon. Few gleams of sunshine came to make him less forlorn. Not only was he at grips with his Metropolitan, but in open conflict with an institution which has been nursery of the Catholic priesthood in the United States. He insisted with what we dare term intemperate zeal upon the absolute necessity of a native clergy and an establishment for their training. In this Bishop England differed from some of his Celtic brethren in the episcopate elsewhere, one of whom is on record as the author of the following: "While there are so many colleges in Ireland, France, and Rome we ought not to think of creating an institution calculated to foment divisions between natives and colonists." This prelate not only discouraged *native vocations* to the priesthood but raised a barrier against the admission of some excellent young women *into a religious community* in *his diocese.*

Bishop England "exhibited a firm resolve not to permit the young aspirants to his diocese to be educated under French influence." This, of course, applies to St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore with which the spiritual sons of John Jacques Olier have been identified since that distant day when Pius V said to Father Emery (who was about to withdraw the Sulpicians from Baltimore): "My Son, let that Seminary stand, it will bear fruit in due time." The fruits that it has borne are abundant.

Bishop England's excursus into the religious affairs of Florida (of which State he became Vicar-General) was not attended with any success; "the trustees of the Church in St. Augustine refused to recognize Bishop England's jurisdiction."

There were likewise other fields in which Bishop England's energies found expression—controversy and diplomacy. In the former, mainly through the *Miscellany,* he attained distinction; in the latter he failed lamentably. His public utterances (and they were many) were eloquent, and he seems to have had a natural bent "to command applause of listening senates." The best known of these utterances is his famous address before both Houses of Congress on Sunday, January 8, 1826, when he delivered an oration that lasted for two hours and a half on the foundations of Catholic Faith and wove into it a refutation of an attack on the Catholic Church made some years before by John Quincy Adams, who was then President, and who was present.

Bishop England's venture into the "realm of diplomacy" was disastrous. Dr. Guilday states: "The Apostolic Delegation to the Republic of Haiti was

Dr. England's outstanding failure . . . It had not only brought no peace to the Church in Haiti but had accentuated the Gallican stand of the Government in its attitude towards the Catholic religion." The fact is that it had borne serious results. There is testimony to the effect that England "had erred badly in handling not only the problem itself but the persons and the details connected with it." A further instance of lack of judgment on the part of Bishop England is found in the selection of Bishop Clancy as coadjutor. "This appointment [says Dr. Guilday] was the least fortunate of all Bishop England's acts." The coadjutor had a rather kaleidoscopic career, ending ecclesiastically, as Bishop of Demerara, in the West Indies. He was deposed by the Holy See and died in Cork on June 19, 1847.

The gathering of the threads for the weaving of his great historical fabric has led Dr. Guilday far afield and it may be set forth as an objection to *The Life and Times of John England* that it contains much material that is irrelevant to the subject. There may be question as to the value of such chapters as "The Veto Question," for example, and such lengthy episodes as the discussion on the fanaticism of Samuel B. Morse. But these he doubtless deems necessary for the rounding-out of the story of "the days of the tribulations of Jacob." Irrelevant as it may perhaps seem to the ordinary reader, the discussion of the indebtedness of the Catholic Church in the United States to the "foreigner" is most important to the student of American Church history. We have too long been "a prey to dumb forgetfulness" and it is well that we be reminded of our obligations.

American Catholicism owes an immense debt to three foreign mission societies: the Association for the Propagation of the Faith (Lyons-Paris), the *Leopoldinische Stiftung* (Vienna), and the *Ludwigmissionsverein* (Munich). "What these three societies did for the Catholics in the United States has never been fully told. The very immensity of their charity, the wide-flung range of their co-operation has loomed so large, even in their printed *Reports* and *Annals* that no American historian has had the courage to canvass the facts they contain for our history. . . . The fact needs to be emphasized that in these printed materials lies hidden one of the truest pictures we possess of the faith, hope, and charity of the Catholic Church" (II, pp. 192, 193).

Bishop England received comparatively large sums from, at least two of these organizations. From the *Association of the Propagation of the Faith* alone he received some 220,000 frances, or nearly $50,000 in the current value of the time. Yet, despite the generous benefactions from these sources and from other agencies, the Diocese of Charleston was in a state of chronic poverty, and the story of its "chill penury" runs like an obtrusive thread through much of the correspondence of Bishop England.

His multitudinous ventures brought him ceaseless cares, and his "exuberant zeal" engendered unending misunderstandings with his Metropolitan and his brothers in the hierarchy. So obvious were they, that he has been termed "the stormy petrel of the Baltimore suffragans." He seems to have lived in a state of splendid isolation and had few friends among the members of the hierarchy. An editor who has written very eulogistically of Dr. Guilday's work says of Bishop England: "No doubt, the defect of his great qualities, overconfidence, had something to do with this. It led him to take an interest in many things outside

of his own diocese, into what would now popularly be called 'butting-in' and into keeping his confrères from doing many things which but for his interference they might otherwise have done."

This statement leads directly to his persistent insistance in the matter of Provincial Councils, of which *pars magna fuit*. "Tradition has given him in consequence the prestige of the title: Father of our Provincial Councils" (II, p. 214). The First Provincial Council of the American Church closed its sessions on October 18, 1829; but Bishop England "was not sanguine over the direct results" of this meeting.

Coincident with the interval between this and the holding of the second Council in 1833 the anti-Catholic movement in the United States gained menacing impetus. There were defections from the Church, and evil lurked within the Fold itself:

> Schism had blackened the fair name of the Church from Carroll's day, and trusteeism, America's own contribution to the history of schism and heresy, was so deep-rooted in many congregations that even the stern decrees of 1829 did not wholly eradicate its principles and practice. There were other problems disturbing the equanimity of Catholic life, and not the least among these was the lack of harmony in some of the dioceses between the bishops and the people. There was, moreover, the action of forces still at work in the hierarchy itself apparently to preserve an ascendancy that was racial and was believed to be to some extent foreign in its viewpoint (II, pp. 230, 231).

There were "difficulties" in Boston, in New York, and in Philadelphia. In the Philadelphia *melée* one of the *lutteurs* was the Father Harold whose "anxieties" for the welfare of the Church were expressed in the document to which we have already alluded. Bishop England had a part in this deplorable episode. He tried to make peace between the factions; but his efforts came to naught.

The Second Provincial Council of Baltimore (1833) apparently lacked the spirit of harmony in its deliberations. Bishop England, in a letter written to Paul Cullen, later Archbishop of Dublin and its first cardinal, complained of ill-treatment at the hands of Dr. Whitfield, Archbishop of Baltimore. He now began to realize "that his influence in America was ended owing to the strong opposition he encountered." He "was convinced that the progress of the Faith in America was being hindered by the administrative methods of the Baltimore group" (II, p. 267).

The four years that intervened between the Second and the Third Provincial Council (1833-37) witnessed an alarming growth of anti-Catholic prejudice in the nation. The situation of the Church at the close of the Council was not encouraging:

> Within the Church among the prelates there was little unanimity of thought upon the policies to be pursued in the face of the rising opposition from the non-Catholic politico-religious camp. . . . In fighting his way through the enemies his outspoken columns in the *Miscellany* had created . . . he felt not only abandoned by almost all of his brother-prelates, who believed in the policy of dignified silence, but even by the faithful of his own diocese.
>
> John England never won the good will of the prelates who composed our hierarchy during the years of his episcopate. His attitude towards what he believed to be undue influence on American affairs proceeding from

> St. Mary's Seminary weakened the support he might have received from the Society of Saint Sulpice. It is clear from the extant documentary evidence that he was kept out of two Sees where his influence would have been of untold weight in stemming the tide against Catholicism—Baltimore and New York (II, p. 396).

As to Bishop England's participation in the Fourth Provincial Council (1840) we have what seems to the writer a *mea culpa* of serious import in the following extracts from a letter to Archbishop Eccleston, dated St. Mary's, Georgia, February 7, 1840, . . . "I beg leave to say, that since I had last the pleasure of addressing you, my mind has undergone a very serious, and I hope, beneficial change, and neither you nor my brethren will, I trust, have much reason henceforth to complain of my occupying their time on speculations or obtruding upon their practice. I have regretted and been ashamed of my folly at the last council. . . . Now I shall add what I have learned from experience, perhaps I ought to say the divine admonition. Whilst I am occupied with my own business, whatever may be its perplexities, I experience a degree of peace and quiet, to which I am immediately a stranger the moment that I interfere with what does not concern me. I have been dragged, or rather, I have dragged myself too much into external and extraneous business" (II, 507). Within a fortnight, he changed his mind and wrote to the Archbishop a missive which "reawakened the suspicion of Dr. Eccleston's advisers with his insistence on the native and foreign element in the Church." Many *Acta* of importance were drawn up during the sessions of this Council, though "Dr. England was not satisfied with the hasty methods followed."

Dr. Guilday devotes some eighty pages to Bishop England's "Writings" and says, in conclusion: "With the passing of John England controversial literature lost one of its ablest exponents. In the history of Catholic apologetics he remains, after almost a century, the outstanding figure of the American Church." His most unfortunate literary venture, perhaps, was, "The Letter to the Society of Lyons," written in 1836. "From 1836, when he embodied his ideas on the problems in the much-debated *Letter* to Lyons, to the present time, he has had few to support him in his belief that owing to sundry causes the Catholic Church had lost up to that time three and three-quarter millions of its children in this country. On the contrary, the studies which have been made since Dr. England's day in this vexed question have practically put aside his conclusions as untenable." Dr. Shaugnessy who spent many years in a study of the question of leakage in the Church in the United States, says in his well-documented volume, *Has the Emigrant Kept the Faith?* (published in 1926) that England's entire statement is "a network of hazy and rash assumptions." O'Gorman in his *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* says, "There has been much wild writing about the losses of the Church in this country. Bishop England whiling away his time on board ship at guessing the Catholic losses in his day, without statistics or references at hand set down the losses of his own diocese at 38,000 and in the country at large as three and a quarter millions from 1786 to 1836. He assumed that in fifty years there had come into the United States eight millions of immigrants. This assumption, which is the basis of his calculation and argument is absolutely without foundation" (II, p. 489).

The final chapter of *The Life and Times of John England* is "attuned to chords of pity." In June, 1840, Bishop England made a pathetic appeal to Cardinal Fransoni for financial help, but received none. In spite of prosperous conditions in the Southland he met with little more than apathy from his flock in his appeals for financial support. He was carrying a formidable burden of debt. Financially, the Diocese of Charleston was in a more precarious state than at any time during the previous decade. He again crossed the Atlantic and made a financial appeal in Ireland, which was generously met. On his return he was stricken with an illness that ended fatally on the morning of April 11, 1842. The press of Charleston that afternoon and the following morning chronicled Dr. England's passing as a national loss. The See of Charleston remained vacant until March, 1844, when Dr. Ignatius Reynolds took up its burdens. Of Bishop Reynolds, Dr. Guilday says: "Bishop Reynolds inaugurated a policy of strict retrenchment, which carried, however, an unfortunate aspect of criticism upon his predecessor's plans and methods. The Bardstown ecclesiastical atmosphere was not a favorable one in which to train the immediate successor of John England" (II, p. 552).

Bishop Reynolds published in the *Miscellany* for January, 1846, a *Letter*, several paragraphs of which "aroused considerable resentment among Dr. England's friends":

> The difficulties with which my lamented predecessor had to contend are known and appreciated by few, perhaps adequately by none, not even his most devoted friends and warmest admirers. Of his administration no one can form a correct judgment; for the motives, and perhaps uncontrollable causes of much that he did, his anticipations and ultimate intentions were known only to himself. God, in His mysterious Providence, called him to rest from his labors and receive the reward of his zeal, without requiring the sorrows, toils, disappointments and embarrassments, which his successor so deeply feels, and which he too, notwithstanding his splendid talents and great energy of mind, would have experienced, had heaven left him still in the field of labor and trial. He died, at the hour, truly least expected by others, and even by himself; and at the very time, when the resources of his powerful mind, and his extended fame and influence seemed most necessary to devise and apply the means of paying the heavy debts he had contracted, and for the accomplishing the designs and undertakings of his zeal.

From this time forward the *Miscellany*, even under the editorship of Dr. Lynch, whom Bishop England had sent as his first student to Rome, ceased to mention his name. One by one during Bishop Reynold's administration his projects were abandoned, and the unity of spirit he had given to the Church in the three States constituting the Diocese of Charleston began quickly to wane. Silence fell upon the long years of his episcopate. There were few to do him honor; none, in fact, to write the story of his life. This task was undertaken by Dr. Guilday and this splendid piece of American Catholic scholarship has been offered to the public by "The Thought Foundation," of the *America* press. The editor of *America* in introducing it says: "[Dr. Guilday] has no thesis, he has no purpose beyond that of telling the truth and of building up piece by piece a breathing portrait of his subject and a panorama and interpretation of the times in which he lived." In appraising the subject, Father Parsons says:

> In spite, however, of the brilliant oratorical successes of John England among Catholics and non-Catholics, in spite of his fine executive abilities,

his zeal, his courage and his deep spirituality, his popularity in the country at large outside the episcopate, and the fact that his reputation is secure as one of our great bishops, there is a deep note of tragedy in these volumes, and the reader closes them asking, as England often did himself, whether his life was not after all a failure.

To this I may add, by way of conclusion to this survey, a significant saying of a prelate who had much in common with John England:

"Heureux l'homme quand il n'a pas les défauts de ses qualités."

P. W. BROWNE.

NECROLOGY

JOHN CARDINAL BONZANO

The passing of Cardinal Bonzano, who died in Rome on November 26, brought genuine sorrow to Catholics in the United States and particularly to the personnel of the Catholic University of America in which during a long residence in Washington as Apostolic Delegate he had taken a particular interest.

John Cardinal Bonzano was born at Casteletto, Italy, in 1867. He studied at the Seminary-College of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, and was ordained in 1890. He was immediately sent to China, where for six years he was a missionary. Returning to Rome in impaired health, he resumed his studies and won the degree of Doctor of Theology and Canon Law. He was then named vicar-general of the Diocese of Vigevano, Italy, but shortly afterward was recalled to Rome to be made rector of the Pontifical Urban College.

He was appointed Apostolic Delegate to the United States in 1912, and was consecrated titular archbishop of Melitene in the same year. In 1922 he was made Apostolic Visitor to the fourteen provinces and their dependent dioceses in the United States and in the same year he was recalled to Rome to be elevated to the cardinalate. In this latter capacity he was made a member of several sacred congregations, including the Consistorial, Council, Religious, Propaganda Fide, Rites, Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, Seminaries and Universities, and the Oriental Church.

Cardinal Bonzano undoubtedly was the most widely known and esteemed, by Americans, of the entire Sacred College of Cardinals, excepting, of course, America's own princes of the church.

In return, he had a love and admiration of America and Americans which he never failed to express in the most ardent terms on every occasion that presented itself. "My second home," was his favorite way of referring to the United States.

This bond was born of extraordinary reasons: For no fewer than ten years his home was in America, while he served as Apostolic Delegate to this country. This exalted post he held for nearly twice as long a period as any of his three predecessors, Cardinals Satolli, Martinelli and Falconio. His conduct of the affairs of the delegation came at a peculiarly difficult time—the period of the World War —when men were proved and won names for ability or were submerged. Bonzano stood the test; and his tact and competence were warmly praised in many quarters, notably in Rome, which raised him to the cardinalate upon the completion of his services here.

In 1922, having been named Apostolic Visitor by the Holy Father, he visited every archdiocese and diocese in the United States and personally interviewed every member of the American hierarchy, a task which at once knit him more closely with American Catholic life and deepened his already great affection for Americans.

More recently, he returned to America as the legate of Pope Pius XI to the great International Eucharistic Congress at Chicago. His reception at New York, his progress across the country to Chicago, his reception and appearances at Chicago, and his departure from the country constituted a series of tremendous triumphs, participated in by many hundreds of thousands. While the effect of

these events engraved themselves deeply in His Eminence's mind and brought a new appreciation of America, his graciousness won for him everywhere a still warmer regard for Americans.

He was particularly pleased at being named an honorary citizen of New York and being elected an honorary member of its Catholic Club.

Since his return to Rome in 1922 after his service here as Apostolic Delegate, he had had another continuous tie with America. It was his titular church, that of Santa Susanna, conducted by the Paulist Fathers and known as the American Church in Rome. It was at his special request that this church, where American Catholics in Rome gather regularly, was given to him.

In recent months he had repeatedly expressed the hope that he might some day return to America. As he departed from the Eucharistic Congress, he said:

"Dear America, adieu! I hope to return some day soon.

"I have long learned to pray, 'God bless America,' which I love and admire as my second home. Naturally, I should like to come to it often, after my long and pleasant experience in working with its noble hierarchy, every member of which is as good a patriot as he is a Catholic. But, now that I have had the signal honor to represent the person of the Father of the Faithful here, in the august gesture at Chicago, I feel that I am more than ever united to you, in hoping and doing all things possible for the well-being of this God-given continent, and the uplift and happiness, spiritual and temporal, of its people.

"If I had not to go back and deliver my high commission into the hands of him who gave it, I know I should find myself seeking some humble place here among my colleagues whence to enjoy the freedom of this boundless America, and to do my little bit to make its grand people what God seems to have intended—the truest, sincerest and best of his children."

Cardinal Bonzano was protector of several Religious groups in the United States, included among them being the Franciscan Sisters of Mary in St. Louis; the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in Clinton, Ia.; Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic in California; the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis in Wisconsin, and the Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the Woods, Indiana. In addition, he was protector of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis in Buenos Aires, and of the Order of Friars Minor, which has many members in America.

CHRONICLE

In an official document addressed to the clergy of the Archdiocese of Baltimore regarding the annual collection for the Catholic University of America, Archbishop Curley, Chancellor of the University, announced that following the expiration of his current six-year term, in March, Bishop Shahan will relinquish the office of Rector at the conclusion of the present school year in June thereby ending eighteen years of active governing of the university during the period of its greatest expansion.

The coming expiration of Bishop Shahan's rectorship had been discussed in Catholic Church circles since last May, at which time the Bishop advised the board of directors of the University that owing to his seventy years of age, he would "under no circumstances be considered a candidate for reappointment" as Rector, following the conclusion of his current third consecutive term in that office. Acquiescing in the expressed wishes of Bishop Shahan, the board of directors agreed to appoint a successor at a later date, and decided at the same time that, since Bishop Shahan's term expires only two months before the conclusion of the present school year, he remain in office throughout this school year.

Although relinquishing the rectorship of the University, Bishop Shahan will remain actively engaged in its interest. He will be director of the building of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, with headquarters at the University, and will head a campaign to further public knowledge of the Institution. In the latter position he will be assisted by Rev. David T. O'Dwyer, pastor of St. Patrick's Church of Denver, Colo., who has been appointed by the board in that capacity.

Bishop Shahan was born in Manchester, N. H., in 1857. Educated in Canada, Rome, Berlin and Paris, he was ordained to the priesthood in 1882, and was appointed instructor in Church history at the Catholic University in 1891. In 1909 he was appointed Rector for a term, under the old constitution of the university, for six years. He subsequently was reappointed for two more terms, so that his present period in office, ending in March, totals eighteen years in that office.

In reminding the clergy and laity of the Bishop's coming relinquishment of office, Archbishop Curley paid glowing tribute to the "scholarly and lovable Bishop Shahan, who has given more then forty years of his life to the sacred cause of Catholic education. I am anxious [says His grace] that the collection of this year in the Archdiocese of Baltimore should be the largest yet given as a token, not only of our continued interest in the Catholic University, but also as a proof of our appreciation of the eminent service of the University's Rector."

Founded in 1889 with a school of theology maintaining only four instructors, the Catholic University has grown to include practically every branch of learning, taught by 120 teachers, of whom two-thirds are laymen. The present enrollment is approximately 2,350 students. The major portion of this growth occurred under the administration of Bishop Shahan, to whom, is due chief credit for the expansion.

In the presence of a notable gathering, His Grace, Archbishop Curley turned the first sod on the site of the new St. Mary's Seminary on Belvedere and Roland Avenues, Baltimore, on November 16th. His Grace Archbishop Keane, of Dubuque

preached the sermon, in which he eloquently portrayed the history of St. Mary's and paid high tribute to the Sulpicians. We cull the following excerpts from this masterly discourse (to be published later in its entirety):

"No association of men or women in the Church, with or without religious vows," said Archbishop Keane, "has exhibited a more perfect restraint of individual vagaries, or enjoyed a life-long devotion and loyalty of a larger percentage of its membership than the Society of Saint Sulpice, whose association is voluntary."

* * * *

"They have served the Church especially by inculcating sincere devotion to the New Testament ideals of the priesthood, and when one considers that the Christian priesthood was ordained by Christ as a permanent ministry of grace and truth for the sanctification of men's souls, one can appreciate the supreme importance of such service.

"The religious state of a generation is determined by the character of the priesthood that ministers to it. The aim of the Sulpician Fathers has been and is, to make clerical aspirants proficient in all that pertains to the ecclesiastical vocation, to train them in that independence of character and distinctness of aim which can enable them to be in the world and not of it.

"There exists between them and their students a genuine familiarity and inspiring friendship. Their students carry away from their Alma Mater a love and a reverence for their old masters which usually survive the vicissitudes of a long life.

"Never compromisers or trimmers in questions of faith or laws of conduct, they cultivate moderation as a science and so greatly enlarge the field of helpfulness. Their devotion to the Sovereign Pontiff has ever been so sincere, so simple and so whole-souled that their seminarians have ever and everywhere been so profoundly impressed and edified that they, too, cherish a vivid consciousness of spiritual kinship with him." Archbishop Keane here quoted various pontifical approbations of the society.

"The Sulpician Fathers have lived and wrought through all these years for the Church in America under the restraints of poverty. Their services have been unostentatious and hidden from public notice and so failed to win popular appreciation and merited support.

"The work inaugurated and blessed to-day for a greater Saint Mary's will, we are confident, move the sympathy, the interest, and generosity of Catholics everywhere to ensure its completion. May not a grateful Sulpician alumnus bid you, Fathers of Saint Sulpice, to hope that bishops and priests, and faithful throughout America, your debtors in so many ways, will seize this occasion to repay you, at least in part, for the great sacrifices you have made for the Church they love."

Rev. Dr. Fenlon, Superior of the Sulpicians in the United States and President of St. Mary's, delivered a brief address which was really a thank-offering for the benefactions that had made the erection of a new seminary possible. He said in part:

We thank, first of all, the Archbishop of Baltimore . . . who first conceived the idea of a new seminary. . . . No alumnus himself, but as proud

of her record as the most devoted alumnus, he wished St. Mary's Seminary to remain national in scope, as befits the Mother of American Seminaries. He gave his heart to the work. Without him it would now be scarcely a cherished dream. . . . "For this creative activity on behalf of the new seminary, and even more, let me say, for the enthusiasm and heartiness put into the Archbishop's appeal but above all, for the warm friendship which he is continually manifesting to us, as a community and individually, we are grateful—grateful beyond the power of words to express." Fr. Fenlon thanked the clergy both secular and regular for their generous support and the laity of the Archdiocese of Baltimore for their hearty response to the appeals of their pastors. The concluding address was given my His Grace the Archbishop of Baltimore which we reproduce by the courtesy of the *Baltimore Catholic Review*:

> The shades of eve are falling and the next number on the program and my pleasant duty is the bringing of this ceremony to a close.
>
> I wish to say a word of thanks first of all to His Grace the Most Rev. Archbishop of Dubuque, who came from his home in the West to be present on this occasion. Better than anyone else could do it, he has set before us clearly and briefly the work of the Sulpician Fathers. It is my desire, with his permission, to publish his discourse in the form of a pamphlet, to be sent to the priests and bishops of the United States.
>
> I wish also to thank Bishop Hickey of Providence for his presence, and Bishop Shahan of the Catholic University of America, Bishop Swint of Wheeling and our own Bishop Toolen. I am grateful also to the clergy and people alike, here assembled.
>
> I feel that the clergy who have journeyed here from far distant parts will return home happier for having breathed the ecclesiastical atmosphere of Baltimore.
>
> Much might be said of the Sulpicians and their work. I have spoken of them on many previous occasions, as late as last night in the City of Washington, and yet again to-day at the alumni meeting. An occasion such as this occurs only once in a long time. Perhaps it may not occur again in this diocese within the next five or eight hundred years.
>
> I have lost no opportunity to speak to the clergy of the great work of the spiritual sons of the saintly Olier, and I now seize this opportunity of speaking about it to the laity.
>
> The Sulpicians live out their lives in the quiet seclusion of the seminary cloisters. Though there are among them some who have spent nigh on to half a century at the Seminary, they are unknown to scarcely more than a dozen people in Baltimore. Their work is conducted not from the platform nor by social visiting among the people, nor even from the pulpit. Their vocation is to be perpetually seminarians, moving among the young men on their way to the altar. They accomplish their work not so much by the imparting of ecclesiastical lore as by their priestly example. They came here at the beginning to lighten the burden of Bishop Carroll, and since have sent forth men imbued with the spirit that we find in the Church to-day.
>
> Some years ago, when the diocese was poor financially, the Sulpician Fathers educated our students without payment of tuition. The contribution of the Archdiocese is now due. In the name of the priests and laity of the Archdiocese, as well as in my own name, as we take this first step towards the realization of a new Saint Mary's, I wish to thank the present Superior, the Very Rev. Father Fenlon, and all the Sulpicians in Baltimore, at Saint Charles', in Washington and California.
>
> Baltimore, the recipient above all others, has every right to be grateful. It has pledged more than one million dollars and its pledge shall be fulfilled. Father Fenlon has told you that some parishes have not as yet

returned their full quota. But every parish shall in good time redeem its pledge and I feel confident that after the stirring events of to-day we shall show ourselves generous once again towards the New Saint Mary's.

The main section of the building, you will note, which is to be erected immediately, is marked off in American flags. The part which it is impossible to erect at the present time is marked out in green. Why it is green I know not. If I had anything to do with it I would never use green to denote failure.

A beautiful chapel will rise, please God, on the spot on which we now stand. There are at present 401 students registered at Saint Mary's. Of these over 200 will be accommodated by the part of the new Saint Mary's, which will be first erected. The rest will remain on Paca street.

We have our great schools, our monuments, our hospitals and the poor, but the work of the Seminary is even greater than all others put together. Without priests there would be no church, no schools, no sacraments. Without the priest there would be no Mass. When has there ever occurred a greater need for priests? When a greater need for institutions in which to train them? Never before during one hundred years has there occurred a need equalling this Seminary in importance.

To priests and people I make an appeal—a fervent appeal—for sympathy towards this work. Help us to give to our young men proper surroundings in which to live. Help us to elevate them, mind and body, while they are being prepared to stand before God's altar, dispensers of the mysteries of God.

We are building no monument. There is nothing of luxury in the designs of the new Seminary. Though there is represented in its enrollment nearly a half hundred dioceses, Baltimore assumes it as its work par excellence. For it we must have the co-operation of the clergy and people.

It is necessary above all else that the new Seminary be permeated, as was the old, with the spirit of Olier, the spirit of the founders of the old Seminary, men whose memory is green in Baltimore after a century and a third has passed away.

His Excellency, Most Rev. Andrea Cassulo, D. D., Apostolic Delegate to Canada, blessed and opened the new Catholic University College of Edmonton on Sunday, Nov. 6th. Assisting at the opening were His Grace Archbishop O'Leary, of Edmonton, Rt. Rev. Bishop Kidd, of Calgary, Alta.; Rt. Rev. Mgr. Blair, President of the Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada; Lieut.-Governor Egbert; Acting Premier Perren-Baker, Mayor Bury and President Tory of the University of Alberta. Rev. Bro. Rogatian, Rector of the College, and members of the staff, were also present.

St. Joseph's University College is perhaps the first of its kind in Canada and possibly on the whole North American continent. It creates a precedent which may influence considerably future Catholic schemes of education in territories to which Alberta conditions apply.

The college is not theological in any sense of the word, and yet represents the contribution of Catholicism to higher education in that province. Through it the Catholic youth desirous of a university education, may obtain a degree in arts, attend lectures at the university, like other students, and yet live in surroundings which will strengthen his faith in the sublimity of his religion.

The college does not grant degrees from St. Joseph's, for it is affiliated with the University of Alberta, and students will attend most of their lectures

there. It is the university which will give degrees and it is university examinations which students will have to pass before they get them. But the university has empowered the institution to give certain courses, which will be added to the curriculum of the faculty of arts, and it is through these and the atmosphere of Catholicism in St. Joseph's that help is extended to the young men of our faith.

Under the terms of the affiliation with the University of Alberta, St. Joseph's College will have representation on the governing body of the larger institution, and since it will be a College of Arts, Dean Kerr, head of the University Faculty of Arts, is on its own board of governors. For this reason also, arrangements have been made to have several of the Christian Brothers give lectures to the university students, and, in fact, become members of the University Faculty of Arts.

At present matriculation courses at the college for those students who are deficient in one or more high school subjects will be established. This, of course, will be open to all university students who may wish to take them, and will not be confined to only those resident in St. Joseph's. Also the terms of affiliation with the university permit courses in history and philosophy, the latter including ethics. These will correspond to university courses and will be part of the contribution to the educational facilities of the university.

St. Joseph's College differs from other Catholic institutions in Canada, both in the comparative freedom of its charter and the greater participation in university life which its students will be sure to have.

The only other Canadian Catholic college approaching it in form is St. Michael's, which is affiliated with Toronto University, but has not the elasticity of charter that St. Joseph's has. Under the terms of affiliation with the University of Alberta, St. Joseph's can add as many courses as it desires to its college curriculum, provided the governing body of the University agrees to them.

It has been the custom of *McCall's Magazine* for several months past to reprint parts of the best sermons delivered during every month. The best sermon during the month of September, according to the knowledge and judgment of the magazine, was preached by the Rev. Dr. Ryan on the importance of the spiritual element in social work.

Writing in *McCall's*, the Rev. Dr. Newton pays a fine tribute to the scholarship and high public service of Dr. John A. Ryan of the Catholic University of America. Dr. Ryan, says Dr. Newton, is known and honored as a great churchman and a great citizen far beyond the boundary of his own religious communion. His latest book, says Dr. Newton, ought to be read by every citizen. It is on the subject of "Declining Liberty."

In the sermon reviewed by Dr. Newton in *McCall's Magazine* Dr. Ryan insists that, while religion is not the chief concern of social workers, for them to neglect or ignore the spiritual element in human nature is to handicap, if not frustrate, their labors for human betterment. Also, the social worker who disregards the spiritual life of those whom he serves deprives himself of the most effective motive and approach.

"Social distress," says Dr. Ryan, "is the distress of human beings, and a human being is something more than a combination of physical and mental powers. By far the most important part of a human being is spirit. To deal with a human being without taking into account his spiritual nature is to treat him inadequately, and may do as much harm as good. Neglect of the spiritual element means neglect of the moral life."

"What is the spiritual element?" asks Dr. Ryan. "It is not the same as the religious element, since religion has to do with creed and ritual. Nor is it synonymous with the emotional, the idealistic, or the unselfish, though these are a part of it. The spiritual is that pertaining to the soul; it is the recognition of the soul as the supreme good in a human being.

"In other words," continues Dr. Ryan, "it is the soul which gives to man his intrinsic worth as a person, instead of a mere means to the welfare of society. Because of his soul, his personality, his intrinsic worth, the human individual is endowed with certain rights, which may not be disregarded even in the interests of social progress. After all, social progress means the progress of human beings. Without human beings it is an empty abstraction, and human beings have souls."

What this means is seen when we study such questions as eugenics, marriage, and similar issues. It is very well to study these problems scientifically, but if we leave out the spiritual element in man, the result is a pig-sty philosophy. It is not science, but materialism, against which Dr. Ryan makes such pungent protest. He objects when human beings are studied or dealt with as if they were animals and nothing more. Dr. Ryan is pointed and specific:

"Many social workers to-day are interested in eugenics. They believe that the presence of great numbers of mentally and physically subnormal persons is a grave menace to social integrity and improvement. Therefore, they desire that the number of such persons should be reduced. Some of the means they advocate are drastic, even horrible. No social worker who recognizes the spiritual element can approve these brutal proposals."

"Social workers themselves need the sustaining sense of the sacredness of the persons whom they serve. Else their work will be either mechanical or hard-hearted, or both. Without a love of human beings, such as the Christian philosophy creates and inspires, social work loses its motive and its consecration. God be thanked for a great spiritual teacher who makes us see our social tasks in a higher, whiter light.

"My only aim," concludes Dr. Ryan, "has been to set forth a philosophy of social work compatible with lasting social progress. I have striven to describe it in such terms that it can be accepted not only by Catholics, not only by Protestants, not only by Jews, but by every person who believes in the supreme dominion of God."

The Catholic University of America here has just obtained a valuable collection of pottery and objects of stone, unearthed in the Amazon region of Brazil in the territory formerly inhabited by the now extinct Uruca Indians.

The collection, which numbers 130 pieces, was obtained through an American missionary from Iowa, now engaged in work at Santarem, Brazil. Most of the

stone objects are parts of pots and pipes, representing birds, animals and human beings. They were found three to fifteen feet under earth tenanted by the Indian race two centuries ago.

The Iberno-American library of the University has just issued a bibliographical and historical account of more than 200 very rare Portuguese and Spanish books, ranking among the most important bibliographies of its kind, and unsurpassed for curious South American lore.

Among the rare books described are writings of travel, natural history, medical treatises, religious and ascetic writings and political tracts. The famous *Paesi Novi Retrovati* of Monboddo, published at Vienna in 1507, is among them. Only five copies of this book are extant in the country. The publication of other selections from this great library of 40,000 volumes, some of the treasures of which are not found in the libraries of Rio de Janeiro or Libson, is contemplated.

The discovery in the Princeton Art Museum of what is probably the finest example of thirteenth century art in the United States, a stained-glass window definitely proved to have been removed from the famous Cathedral of Chartres, France, was revealed recently at Princeton.

The identifier of the window, which has been in the possession of the Princeton Museum since 1924, but the value of which was not learned until recently, is W. Frederick Stohlman, Assistant Professor of Art and Archaeology at Princeton, after three years of research by members of the Princeton Faculty.

The window portrays the martyrdom of a saint bound to a wheel, the spokes of which are two-edged swords. It was originally discovered abroad by Dr. Frank Jewett Mather, Director of the Museum of Art of Princeton University. Dr. Mather recognized its value, although the antiquary from whom it was bought, in Lausanne, Switzerland, could furnish no facts about the masterpiece. At that time it was rumored to have been taken from a near-by castle designed by the famous architect Viollet-le-Duc.

Dr. James Brown Scott, professor of international law at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, who recently visited Spain, was the recipient of unusual honors while in the old university city to take part in the inauguration of the Francis of Vittoria chair of international law at the University of Salamanca.

Salamanca is the oldest Spanish university in existence, having been founded in 1230 by Alphonso IX of León. It has a special interest to American educators, for it was at this university that Christopher Columbus presented his plans to the faculty before sailing on his memorable voyage of discovery. After his return from his first voyage, he lectured at the university on the results of his discoveries and the effect the new continent would have on international relations.

It was also at this university that Francis of Vittoria, the real founder of the modern school of thought on international law, delivered the first series of lectures on that subject ever given. Studies made by Dr. Scott confirm the

belief that it was Vittoria and not Grotius, the Dutch authority, who is the founder of international law. This fact is to be brought out in a new book which Dr. Scott is preparing on the subject.

An English newspaper has stated that the Russian explorer, Professor Peter Kozloff, has solved darkest Asia's greatest archaeological mystery by the discovery of the tomb of Genghis Khan (Jenghiz Khan), the Mongolian conqueror, 700 years after his death, near the ruins of the dead city of Khara-Khoto, in the Gobi Desert.

Professor Kozloff has devoted twenty years to this search. He found the great Khan's silver coffin resting upon the crowns of seventy-eight princes and khans whom he had conquered.

The secret wonders of the conqueror's tomb, says *The Express*, vie with those of Tut-ankh-Amen. Seven silent Lamas guard the secret place and every seven hours one of them strikes seven times on a huge jade bell hanging above the sarcophagus.

For seven centuries the priests have preserved the mystery. Jewel-studded weapons of Genghis Khan and his own story of his reign, a life-sized lion, tiger and horse in pink jade and a copy of the Bible written by an English monk were also in the tomb.

Professor Kozloff also visited the tomb of the Genghis's favored wife, the inscription on whose white marble coffin sets forth that "the Great Khan released her by placing his dagger in her breast."

The great Khan's tomb lies beyond the labyrinth of passages cut into the mountainside. It is a spacious hall about forty feet square, the whole carefully preserved, and once every year certain privileged Mongols and the Khan's descendants repair thither to make sacrifice to his memory.

Once a year Professor Kozloff was assured on the anniversary of the Khan's death, his ghost arises and blows out the lamps, leads the chief of the guardian Lamas to the black slab at the rear of the shrine and writes with the accompanying priest's hand prophecies for the coming year.

The New York *Times* (Nov. 19) says:

The first volume of a set of books bound by Robert Riviere & Son, Ltd., of London, bookbinders to King George, and believed by that firm to be "the most elaborate and decorative set of books that has ever been bound," has arrived in this country and will be followed by the other fourteen volumes as they are completed.

The text of the volumes is extra-illustrated with what is thought to be one of the most extensive and complete collections in existence of letters and autographs of the Popes, extending back more than five centuries.

The volumes are being bound for Thomas F. Madigan, dealer in autographs, 48 West Forty-ninth Street, who has been collecting material for the volumes by private purchase and at auction sales for the last eight years.

The work is entitled "The Lives and Times of the Popes," a history by Chevalier Artaud de Montor of all the Popes from St. Peter down to and including the pontificate of Pope Pius X, originally published in ten volumes octavo.

For the new binding each page of the original text has been inlaid in folio size, and the text extended to fifteen volumes by the insertion of the collection of autographic letters and documents of the Popes and other notable personages connected with the Catholic Church, as well as engravings, portraits, views, maps and other material.

Some of the Popes are represented by several letters. Among the letters is one of Pope Pius VII to Napoleon. There are also several letters by saints, including Pius V and Charles Borromeo.

The whole fifteen volumes are bound in scarlet levant morocco with scarlet doublures and silk flies, elaborately tooled and inlaid in various colors, with miniatures inserted into each of the front doublures and eight jewels let into the front covers. Each of these hand-painted miniatures on ivory is of a different Pope. Each volume varies in design, the back doublure containing the coat of arms of a different Pope, or rather emblematic tooling.

In collecting the autographic material, Mr. Madigan combed the market in Europe and the United States, and purchased several collections, including the Gunther collection of Catholic autographs. A monograph by Cardinal Mundelein written in longhand for the work appears at the beginning of the first volume.

In addition to the fifteen volumes of text, there are two case-volumes containing a collection of papal bulls from many Popes during the last five centuries, with the original lead seals attached.

The Library of Congress received recently as a gift one of the most valuable of the ancient books sought by collectors—a first printed edition of Homer's *Iliad* in the original Greek published in Florence in 1488, four years before Columbus set sail for America.

This publication was one of the important steps in the revival of learning in Europe. The *Iliad* which still is ranked as the greatest literary work of all history, previously had existed only in manuscript, and the present volume is described at the Library of Congress as a "great monument in the history of culture."

This volume, one of the most valuable now available in Washington, was presented to the Library by Gabriel Wells of New York, publisher and book collector.

The book was edited by one of the great scholars of the renaissance period, Demetrius Chalcondyles, who played a prominent part in the revival of learning. Born in Athens in 1424, he came to Rome when a young man and became one of the scholars associated with Cardinal Bessarion at the Vatican. Later he taught Greek at Perugia, Padua, Florence, and Milan.

The place of Chalcondyles in the revival of learning is shown by the fact that one of his first pupils was Williams Grocyn, who brought the study of Greek to Oxford in England, and among whose pupils were Sir Thomas Moore and Erasmus.

In 1471 he was summoned to Florence by Lorenzo de Medici and spent much of his time until 1491 in preparing this edition of the *Iliad*. At that time Lorenzo was making Florence the center of the cultural world and was spending the modern equivalent of from $300,000 to $375,000 a year for books alone.

The cost of this volume was not borne by Lorenzo, however, but by two brothers, Bernado and Nerli Neri.

Only two other copies have been traced to public institutions in the United States and there are a few others in private collections. The copy presented by Mr. Wells is a wide-margined volume, bound in vellum, in excellent preservation, and was once owned by an eminent scholar who annotated it with Greek and Latin notes about 1760.

This copy bears the book-plate of the Earl of Mansfield and it is thought likely that it was owned by the first Earl of Mansfield, who was also lord chief justice of England, and whose library was looted when his house was burned in the Gordon riots in London in 1780.

According to a statement made recently by Mr. Aegidius Fauteux, the librarian, the largest collection of Canadiana in Canada or elsewhere has been gathered upon the shelves of the Library of St. Sulpice, Montreal. This is not the Seminary library, but a Public Library on St. Denis Street.

"A copy of every book that has ever been written about Canada, of every review or pamphlet dealing with any aspect of Canadian life or history is in our collection," said Mr. Fauteux, motioning to the steel stack, three tiers high, containing this section of the library. Thirty thousand titles are comprised under this one heading alone.

"Then, too, this library has the largest collection of old books printed in Canada in the years from 1765 to 1820—larger even than that at Quebec. Mr. N. E. Dionne, who was for many years the chief librarian of the Quebec Legislature, has listed 300 of such books in both English and French. We have 700 of these early first editions of Canadian printers in our collection."

Mr. Fauteux pointed out a complete set of the original "Relations" of the Jesuits, covering the period from 1632 to 1673, a compilation dealing with the founding of the Order of the Society of Jesus in New France, but containing also a minute and faithful description of the life, manners and customs of the country during those years. These volumes were printed in Paris, by permission of the King of France, at the sign of the Swan in the Rue St. Jacques by Sebastien Cramoisy, Printer to The King. They are bound in vellum, now somewhat stained and discolored in places, delicately tooled in gold, but after nearly three centuries the paper and print are perfect.

Other rare books dealing with the founding and early history of Canada are the semi-historical, semi-biographical works of Champlain, Sagard and Lescarbot, men whose names have since become legendary. Christien Le Clerq, a Recollect monk of Ville Marie, published two or three works dealing with the establishment of the Faith in this country, and one of these volumes is so rare that a copy sold in the United States a short time back for $900, according to Mr. Fauteux, who explained that this particular volume had never been reprinted, and is consequently extremely scarce and eagerly sought by American collectors.

Among other rare and valuable books possessed by the library, Mr. Fauteux showed a beautifully bound and illustrated volume of St. Thomas Aquinas' *Commentary on the Gospels* printed in 1475, just twenty-five years after the invention of the printing press. The initial letter of every Commentary contains the portrait of some ecclesiastic or famous personage of the time, penned by some unknown monk-artist in gorgeous purples, reds and golds, that still retain all their original softness. Another precious book owned by the library is a *Commentary* on Peter Lombard by John of Cologne, printed in 1469, which has no pagination or register. A register, Mr. Fauteux explained, is a kind of index giving the last word of every fifth or tenth or fifteenth page, as the case may be, instead of the more modern method of numbering each page. With this index, it was stated, it is always possible to detect if a page is missing.

Many books of this early period were bound in leather covered boards, and Mr. Fauteux drew out a beautiful volume bearing the year date 1480, and showed the ravages of that small boring insect called the book-worm, which had dug holes all over the wooden covers.

An exceedingly valuable work possessed by the library is the Vitré Bible, which is contained in ten folio volumes, each about a foot and a half high, and written in four languages—Syriac, Hebrew, Latin and French. Copies of this work are rare, Mr. Fauteux said, because the original type was destroyed.

"But I could continue for hours telling you of the beautiful and remarkable books belonging to the Library of St. Sulpice," said Mr. Fauteux. "Look, here are the *Relations* of Thevenot, in which he gives details and descriptions of the voyages of Father Marquette. It once belonged to the famous de Thous library in France, and bears the de Thous coat of arms on the cover. These are two original editions of Champlain's *Voyages*, with the original map of New France. All of these books are hunted by book lovers the world over, and any one would delight the heart of a connoisseur if he could but own it. This edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages* is remarkable on account of its completeness. Here is Creuxius *Historia Canadiensis*, written by one of the early Jesuit Fathers in Latin. Here is a complete set of the *Mercure François*, published in Paris from 1605 to 1638, which gives an intimate picture of the time of Louis XIII.

"This book by Nicholas Denys, the first governor of Acadia, contains a description of the coast of North America. There are perhaps not more than five known volumes complete with maps and plates, and this is one of them."

Altogether, the Library of St. Sulpice has a collection of between 115,000 to 120,000 volumes on its shelves, Mr. Fauteux stated.

The Jesuit Fathers in charge of the Catholic University at Tokyo have deposited in the Bank of Japan 800,000 yen. The Japanese Government made this deposit a condition of official recognition.

Now that the Jesuits have succeeded in gathering the sum required, the Catholic University will enjoy the privileges of government institutions in Japan and rapid progress is assured.

Further proof of the encouraging progress the Catholic Church is making in China is given in the fact that the Chinese Catholic University is now established at Peking in a fine old palace having 350 rooms. The palace was formerly the property of an uncle of the last Emperor. The organization of the University was entrusted by the Holy Father, Pope Pius XI to the Benedictine Fathers.

Faculties of theology, philosophy, literature, arts and sciences as well as additional professiorial chairs of Chinese studies are included in the University. Many of the professors are Chinese. The object of the establishment of the University is that it may become a real center of Chinese thought and culture. It is hoped that now that China has native Bishops the erection of the Catholic University as a cultural center will become an integral part of the country's life.

The Ambrosian Library at Milan is ranked with the Vatican Library, the National Library of Paris, the British Museum Library and the Merton Library of Oxford. Founded in 1609 by Cardinal Borromeo who was Archbishop of Milan and a cousin and successor of St. Charles, the Ambrosian Library stands to-day as a treasury of culture. In order to form this library, Cardinal Borromeo sent eight experts to various parts of Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Greece, and Jerusalem in search of rare books and manuscripts. Thirty thousand volumes were collected as well as 14,000 manuscripts. In addition to acquiring this great bibliographical collection, the Cardinal instituted a college of nine priests who were given the title of "Doctor" and charged to study theology, letters, history, ecclesiastical antiquities and language. Later a "trilingual" college for students was added. This college provided them with instruction in Greek, Latin and Italian. Connected with this college were also a printing house of Eastern languages such as Hebrew, Persian, Armenian, a picture gallery, and a school of fine arts.

There were certain rules that were to be observed concerning the government of the library. These rules were established by the Cardinal himself. The Prefect was obliged to maintain relations with all the learned men of Europe in order that the best information on the subject of books might be obtained and that the students of the college might be advised in their choice of reading matter. The books of this library were exposed to the public, and full advantages of notetaking were given to those who might be interested. This rule was vastly different from that of other libraries where valuable books were kept under lock and key and allowed in circulation only at the consent of the librarian. In three centuries the Ambrosian Library has increased in importance. Some of the most brilliant men of the world have had intimate connection with this great institution. When the Library was first formed it had 30,000 volumes to its credit. That number has greatly increased in the course of time. Purchases, gifts and legacies were added to the collection until there are now 3,000,000 volumes there.

Among the most important treasures of this library are the "Codex Atlanticus" of Leonardo da Vinci, ten signed letters of the famous Lucrezia Borgia, a "De Officiis" of Cicero painted in miniature, a Syrian Bible written by hand, an Egyptian papyrus which dates back to the year of 169 before Christ, a Virgil

with comment by Servius, a grammatical treatise by Petrarch and a Homer composed of 58 fragments with third century painting. It is interesting to note that Our Holy Father Pope Pius XI, spent 26 years in the service of the Ambrosian Library. He fulfilled the functions of Doctor from 1888 to 1907 and of Prefect from 1907 to 1914 when he was called to Rome to be Prefect of the Vatican Library.

An honor very rarely bestowed was conferred upon the Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P., general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, on October 14. The Most Rev. Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, who as Apostolic Delegate to the United States is the representative of Pope Pius XI in this country, made the presentation.

The honor is the Doctorate of Sacred Theology, *honoris causa*, conferred by the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities at Rome. This honor is given only for exceptional literary excellence or exceptional service to the Church, and only after the most exhaustive examinations of the writings and acts of the person proposed for the honor.

The presentation ceremony took place at the conference headquarters. In addition to Archbishop Fumasoni-Biondi, the Right Rev. Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University of America; the Right Rev. Monsignor Edward A. Pace, and the Right Rev. Monsignor George A. Dougherty, vice-rectors; and several members of the faculty of the university were present. The Rev. Thomas F. Burke, C. S. P., brother of Father Burke, represented the Very Rev. Joseph McSorley, Superior General of the Congregation of St. Paul. Several other members of the Paulist Congregation attended, including the Rev. Francis P. Lyons, C. S. P., Superior of the College of St. Paul the Apostle. Accompanying Archbishop Fumasoni-Biondi was the Very Rev. Monsignor George L. Leech, secretary of the Apostolic Delegation.

The Catholic University of America is warmly praised in an article which *La Vie Catholique*, of Paris, devotes to recent studies by Professor Roy J. Deferrari. "The Catholic University," says this review, "continues to give a fine example of ardor in work to many of the European universities. The works of Dr. Deferrari give rare light on the style, the language, the thought of the most illustrious of the Fathers of the Church. Beyond the grammatical studies, even the most abstruse, one sees the souls, and the greatest souls of Christian antiquity." The author of the article draws particular attention to the share of Religious in scientific and literary works published in America. "There the need is felt," the article continues, "to have, for the youth at the schools, well-educated teachers, provided with university degrees, and familiarized with the nicest methods of philosophy; and the classes of Dr. Deferrari show a large proportion of veils and cornets."

A new and valuable publication devoted to liturgy and religious art, *L'Artisan Liturgique*, which recently made its appearance, has already attracted world-wide attention.

In France, the land of its birth, it has already spread to practically every Department, and its popularity is quickly growing abroad.

Spain, Holland, Canada, and Switzerland figure particularly prominent in its supporters; while England, the United States, Brazil, Germany, Poland, and Austria are not far behind.

Among other lands where *L'Artisan Liturgique* has its subscribers are Hayti, the Liban, Morocco, Mesopotamia, Siam, and, in spite of the Government's vigilance in keeping out anything pertaining to the Church in Mexico.

Printed in French, English, and Spanish, and profusely illustrated in colour, half-tone and line drawings, the new publication breathes the spirit of the liturgy on every page, which is not surprising, seeing that so eminent a worker in the liturgical apostolate as Dom. Gaspar Lefèbvre contributes largely to its success.

Patterns of chasubles and other vestments are given as well as other designs for liturgical work and articles of general liturgical interest. Practical courses of art embroidery are included.

L'Artisan Liturgique is the organ of a liturgical institution recently set up, known as the Daughters of St. Benedict. The first group was formed at Nîmes, France, in 1926, and last June Mgr. Girbeau, Bishop of Nîmes, celebrated the "Recited Mass" and blessed their house on its completion. A second group has also been formed in Belgium, and is contained in the famous Béguinage of Bruges.

It is published once every two months at a small annual subscription for such a high standard—25 French francs for countries in the postal union, which in American money is only about one dollar. The offices are at 16, Rue Fénelon, Nîmes (Gard), France, where a specimen copy may be had free of charge on application.

The "Friends of the Catacombs," the new association which was recently founded in Rome under the pàtronage of the Holy Father, Pope XI, is progressing with the work of exploring these sacred places.

Since the death of the great archaeologist, De Rossi, many of his disciples have carried on his work. Msgr. Wilpert, another archaeologist, reveals a number of interesting facts concerning the early Christian cemeteries.

The Institute of Christian Archaeology is the creation of the present Holy Father. It is planned to make this institute a sort of conservatory of the methods of the great De Rossi.

The appeal in favor of the Roman Catacombs was begun at the time of the Jubilee Year. The aim of this appeal was to attract pilgrims to the sacred spots and also to place the Catacombs in a favorable condition for receiving visitors. To this end, therefore, the present system of illumination was installed.

The scope of the exploration work in the Catacombs is stupendous. The explorers and excavators are patiently and methodically working, and the century-old secrets of the great burial place are coming to light. Friends interested in the work are generous in their help and have defrayed some of the enormous expense connected with the undertaking.

Although the new association of "Friends of the Catacombs" is, at the present time, existent in Rome only, it is expected that the society will spread throughout all the world in a short time. The Secretariat will be established permanently in Rome, but national committees will be formed in several countries which will be co-ordinated under the leadership of His Eminence, Cardinal Pompili, Vicar to His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, and president of the Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archaeology.

An American Catholic layman who wishes his name withheld has presented Pope Pius XI with $45,000 with which to print the monumental work of Msgr. Wilpert, who is President of the Pontifical Academy of Christian Archaeology, on the Christian sarcophagi of the first centuries.

This work is the first official publication of the Academy, and is most important. It is a companion to Monsignor Wilpert's previous volumes on the mosaics of the basilicas and the paintings in the catacombs. It gives to the world the magnificent testimonies to the Catholic Faith in the first centuries, through an analysis of the carvings on the sarcophagi.

For these reasons, Pope Pius was very anxious that the great work be published. But until now this was impossible because the money was not available. Thus His Holiness is extremely pleased that this generous American should so interest himself in this splendid Catholic testimonial and in the wishes of the Holy Father as to make possible the giving of such a gift to the world.

Professor Etienne Gilson, Ph.D., of the Sorbonne, gave a series of lectures on "The Psychology of St. Augustine" during November at St. Michael's College, Toronto.

Dr. Gilson is taking a real interest in the work of organizing a Department of Graduate Studies at St. Michael's and is lending valuable assistance in helping to build the foundation of what is anticipated to develop into an "Institute of Mediaeval Studies" at St. Michael's. With this end in view arrangements are being made for the return visit of Professor Gilson, every year during the period that he continues his connection with Harvard University where he is engaged to lecture for one term each year.

Dr. Gilson began his teaching at the University of Strasbourg, and a few years ago he was elected to the University of Paris, which is one of the three great Universities on the continent. The Sorbonne is the same University in which St. Thomas Aquinas taught, and although the University has undergone many changes since that time, still the work which Dr. Gilson is performing is closely related to that which was carried on by his holy and illustrious predecessor and at the same seat of learning.

Dr. Gilson owes his ability to deliver his lectures in English to the Great War. Having joined the ranks of the French soldiers at the beginning of the war, Prof. Gilson was captured and held for many years in a German prison camp, where in association with many English prisoners, he availed himself of the opportunity of learning their language.

Bishop Marty of Montauban, the only member of the French episcopate who did not sign the collective letter of that body to His Holiness adhering to his condemnation of the *Açtion Française*, has gone to Rome and presented to Pope Pius his filial excuses, with assurances of his firm and cordial obedience, not only to the orders, but to the wishes and directions of the Pope on the subject of the *Açtion Française*.

Rt. Rev. Joseph Freri, formerly national director of the society of the Propagation of the Faith in the United States and Titular Bishop of Constance, died October 30 at Mont Brison, France.

Bishop Freri had retired from active ecclesiastical duties and was living near his birthplace at St. Etienne, France, where he was born in 1864. Prior to his elevation to the bishopric, October 28, 1924, Mgr. Freri had been for nearly 25 years associated with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith as national director in this country. He originally came to the United States from France to serve as a missionary in Arizona, in what is now the Diocese of Tucson.

The sudden death recently of Mr. Lancelot J. S. Wood, Roman correspondent of the *Tablet* and other Catholic papers is a great loss to Catholic journalism.

Lancelot Wood was born at Oxford sixty-one years ago. He was educated at Radley and New College, became a Catholic, and went to Rome, where he spent nineteen years. He succeeded Msgr. Prior as the *Tablet* correspondent, and had also acted for the *Daily Mail* and American newspapers.

His knowledge of Rome and of Romans was encyclopedic. He was for some years editor of *Rome*, a notable English language weekly, published in the Eternal City in pre-war days. In recent years he had contributed authoritative articles, mostly on the rise of Fascism, to the *Dublin Review*, the *Catholic World*, the *Commonweal*, and other important periodicals.

For some years his friends had urged him to make a book of his Roman experiences, and he had set his mind seriously to the task. It would have been a valuable work had he been spared to finish it.

The Rev. James B. Macelwane, S.J., professor of geophysics and director of the department of geophysics in St. Louis University, has just been notified of his election to the presidency of the Seismological Society of America. The election took place at a meeting of the national directors of the society held in San Francisco.

The Seismological Society of America was founded in San Francisco after the great earthquake as a result of a call for a meeting issued by Professor Alexander G. McAdie, August 22, 1906.

From the 13 persons who were present at the first meeting, the Seismological Society of America has spread over the United States and Canada until at present it has a full membership of 879 besides 132 institutions that subscribe to its *Bulletin* and a considerable number of associate members of its eastern section.

Father Macelwane is the eleventh to hold the office of president of the Seismological Society of America. The first of his predecessors was Professor George Davidson of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey who held that position from 1906 to 1909. The others were Professor Andrew C. Lawson of the University of California (1909-10), Professor John C. Branner of Stanford University (1910-12), Professor Harry F. Reid of Johns Hopkins University (1912-14), Professor George D. Louderback of the University of California (1914-15), Professor Alexander G. McAdie of the Blue Hill Observatory, Massachusetts (1915-16), Professor J. Backus Woodworth of Harvard University (1916-18), Professor C. F. Marvin, director of the U. S. Weather Bureau, Washington, D. C. (1918-20), Dr. Otto Klotz of the Dominion Observatory, Ottawa, Canada (1920-21), and Professor Bailey Willis of Stanford University (1921-27).

The Rev. Dr. James H. Ryan of the Catholic University of America and executive secretary, Department of Education, N. C. W. C., was solemnly invested as a domestic prelate in the convent chapel of St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Terre Haute, Ind., on November 3. Five Monsignori, 100 priests, 400 Sisters, 350 college students and hundreds of the laity were in the chapel, which is larger than most parish churches, for this scene of solemn splendor.

It was appropriate that the ceremony should take place at St. Mary-of-the-Woods, as Dr. Ryan spent nine years there and had no small part in the development of St. Mary-of-the-Woods College which today stands high among the Catholic colleges for women.

The suits of Elphège Daignault and his clique against Bishop William A. Hickey and other Catholic authorities of the diocese were thrown out of the Superior Court at Providence, R. I., on November 1, and the costs of the entire case assessed against the Daignault group.

Furthermore, following the action of Presiding Justice Willard B. Tanner, a stormy word battle took place between factions of Daignault's followers, in which a proposed appeal to the State Supreme Court was derided, charges flew thick and fast, and dissension was rife.

Justice Tanner's dismissal of the suits followed a previous action of the same jurist in the same direction, when he upheld demurrers filed by attorneys for Bishop Hickey and other Church authorities. Thereupon Daignault filed an amended complaint, which repeated the old charges, that funds collected in certain parishes had been misapplied by being devoted to the building of central Catholic high schools and to other purposes. The complaint, as amended, held that a Catholic parish corporation is "organized for the purpose of maintaining religious worship according to the doctrine, discipline and ritual of the Roman Catholic Church, and for the support of the educational and charitable institutions of that Church, within a defined area in said parish."

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as a whole, and not merely within the parish. To Daignault's assertion that it was illegal to use parish funds to pay for subscriptions to the *Providence Visitor*, diocesan organ, the demurrers replied that the complaint did not deny that the *Visitor* is one of the institutions mentioned in the act.

Justice Tanner's final decree throwing the cases out of court reads:

"Decree on demurrer to amended bill. This cause came to be heard and was argued by counsel upon the demurrer filed by the respondents herein, and thereupon, upon consideration thereof, it is ordered, adjudged and decreed that said demurrer be sustained and that the amended bill of complaint herein be and the same is hereby dismissed with costs to the respondents for the reasons stated in the rescript on the hearing on the demurrer to the original bill."

Announcing the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held at Oslo from August 14 to 18, 1928, Circular No. 1 extends a cordial invitation to academies, universities, and other learned societies to send representatives.

The gracious enriching of the Vatican Library by two most important manuscripts—one a letter of a Saint to a Pope and the other a letter of a Pope to a King—through gifts to the Holy Father by Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago and Thomas F. Madigan of New York and his family, is accepted at the Vatican as a peculiarly fitting and generous action.

Both documents really belonged to old Europe, and it is appropriate that they should return there. Because of their character and their authors, they are better in the hands of the Pope than any other place, and again the gift is fitting since the present Pontiff is known to be a lover of manuscripts.

Just how the documents got to America in the first place would be an interesting story. Equally interesting, however, are their contents and the circumstances of their presentation.

The first is an autograph letter sent by St. Charles Borromeo to his uncle, Pope Pius IV. It is written from Mantua, and bears the date Nov. 27, 1565. There are three pages, thickly covered with writing by the saint and with the signature "Your Holiness most humble and devoted servant and creature, Charles Borromeo." The address also is written by the saint.

The letter gives the Pope an account of the missions which at that moment St. Charles was fulfilling—missions assigned by the Sovereign Pontiff to him and to Cardinal Guido Ferrerio, Archbishop of Vercelli. It also relates the differences which they had had to settle between the cities of Bologna and Ferrara.

The letter and the facts to which it refers were known, but the original document is most important, and the Pope was greatly delighted with the gift. As is known, he once made a special study of the life of St. Charles Borromeo, and in 1910, on the occasion of the third centenary of the death of the saint, directed the official publication of the solemnities then being celebrated. In this he published a quantity of hitherto unpublished accounts of the life of the

great Archbishop of Milan, illustrating them with historical discoveries of the utmost importance.

Therefore, no sooner had he seen the letter Mr. Madigan offered him on behalf of Cardinal Mundelein, than he exclaimed: "Oh, I know this writing well. Its authenticity cannot even be doubted for an instant. I have had so many other autographic letters of St. Charles Borromeo in my hands, and I recognize it as his, and I am extremely pleased to have it."

The letter was enclosed in a magnificent cover of leather, beautifully gilded and decorated with various colors, with the coats-of-arms of the Pope and Cardinal Mundelein. Inside, a dedication in Latin, composed by the Cardinal himself, read as follows:

"This autographic letter of St. Charles Borromeo to the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IV, is gladly presented by George Cardinal Mundelein to Pope Pius XI who alone has had the fortune of being the successor to both the one and the other."

Pius XI in fact has had the singular fortune of being the successor of St. Charles Borromeo in the Archbishopric of Milan and of Pius IV in the Sovereign Pontificate.

The other document is of a much nearer epoch, but also recalls a great Pope and a moment of singular importance in the history of the Papacy.

It is written by Pope Pius VII on May 20, 1814, to King Louis XVIII of France, after the fall of Napoleon, to congratulate him on the return of the successor of the legitimate dynasty to the throne of France. It is not, however, only a letter of compliments, but deals largely with the interests of the Church at that moment in which the political status of Europe was being readjusted.

This letter also greatly pleased the Holy Father, and now it with the letter of St. Charles, has gone to join the other precious treasures conserved in the Vatican Apostolic Library.

This letter was also enclosed in a rich leather cover decorated with the coats-of-arms of Pius VII and Pius XI, and bears this dedication:

"An original autographic letter of Pope Pius VII to Louis XVIII, King of France—humbly offered to His Holiness by three of his faithful children, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas F. Madigan and their son, Thomas F. Madigan, Jr., A. D. 1927."

The Rt. Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, Bishop of Rockford, died at his home in Rockford on October 8.

He was born in Columbia, California, October 10, 1863, the son of John and Catherine (Coughlin) Muldoon, and received his elementary education in the schools of Stockton, Cal. After finishing high school, he went to St. Mary's College, Marion County, Ky., for his classics. His seminary days were spent at St. Mary's, Maltimore, Md., where he studied philosophy for two years and theology for four years.

The future Bishop was ordained to the priesthood in the Cathedral at Brooklyn, N. Y., by the late Rt. Rev. John Loughlin, first Bishop of that See, December 18, 1886, and shortly after was made assistant at St. Pius Church, Chicago, where he labored for eighteen months. He was then made Chancellor

and Secretary to Archbishop P. A. Feehan, and took up his residence at the Cathedral of the Holy Name.

In 1901, on the recommendation of Archbishop, Father Muldoon was raised to the episcopal rank, being consecrated Bishop of Tamassensis and Auxiliary to the Archbishop of Chicago. The consecration took place in the Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago, July 25, 1901.

His Eminence, Sebastian, Cardinal Martinelli, was the consecrator, and he was assisted by Bishops Ryan of Alton and Cosgrove of Davenport, while the Most Rev. Archbishop Feehan occupied the throne.

Bishop Muldoon was a born leader and inspirer of men. He was richly endowed by God with the greatness and graces of which heroes and martyrs are made. A chivalrous prelate whose noble simplicity clothed all his dignities with saintly humility, a spiritual commoner whose love of fellowman knew no bounds of race or creed, a crusader for social and industrial justice and fraternity which won him the title of "Everybody's Bishop," he takes his place with Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Spalding and Cardinals Manning and Mercier as prelate and patriot.

Learned and eloquent, he was the author of great sermons, addresses and public documents; able, resourceful and magnetic, he applied to scattered forces the genius of organization, but he himself was greater than all these, in his noble personality as the daily living embodiment of the well-rounded Christian character.

God's poor and those that labor and are heavily burdened have lost one of their greatest comforters and champions. When industrial democracy comes, if it shall come with Christian charity and justice, it will be largely because great Catholic Churchmen lived and died striving for it, and then, as the thousands of ransomed laborers of Germany laid wreaths on the tomb of their Moses, Bishop Von Ketteler, so American labor shall do honor to the memory of big, bountiful Bishop Muldoon.

Cardinal O'Donnell, Primate of Ireland, died on October 22 in the little village of Carlingford, after an illness of several weeks.

The Cardinal was of an old Irish family which played an important part in the history of the Stuart period. One branch went to Spain and achieved distinction and won titles.

The Cardinal, who was made a bishop at the age of 32, the youngest bishop in the world at the time, was a man of wide learning, a great personality and a thorough administrator. His death is greatly regretted by Protestants of the North, who realized his sterling worth and his tolerance towards those not of the Catholic faith.

In the new National Consultative Assembly of Spain recently called by General Primo de Rivera are a number of prominent Catholics, both distinguished laymen and members of the Spanish hierarchy, and the presiding officer himself, Senor Yanguas Messia, is a graduate of the Catholic University of the Escorial, which is directed by the Augustinian Fathers. Particular importance is attached

to this Catholic representation in view of the fact that although the Consultative Assembly has not full legislative powers, it has been called for the purpose of drawing up a new Constitution and revising the whole political and legislative organization of the country, a work which the Dictator hopes to see completed within the next three years.

During November the Catholic University of America was host to the twenty-ninth annual conference of the Association of American Universities.

Among the distinguished guests attending the university conference were: A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University; Frank J. Goodnow, president of Johns Hopkins University; C. C. Little, president of Michigan University; Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Stanford University; James B. Angell, president of Yale University; Wallace W. Atwood, president of Clark University; Stratton D. Brooks, president of the University of Missouri; Josiah H. Penniman, provost of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. David A. Robertson of American Council on Education, Dr. Stephen P. Dugan of the Institute of International Education and W. E. Wickenden of the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education.

Most of the meetings were held in Caldwell Hall at the Catholic University, in the room where the meetings of the hierarchy usually take place.

BOOK REVIEWS

Studien zum Schriftstellerkatalog des heiligen Hieronymus. Von Alfred Feder, S.J. Herder & Co., Freiburg im Breisgau. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co.

Among his numerous other works St. Jerome, the grand recluse of Bethlehem, produced also a catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, beginning with the inspired authors of the books of the New Testament and winding up with himself. He prefaces the description of each author's works by a short biographical notice. It is the first attempt, and a successful one, at a history of Christian literature, though, being the pioneer work in this branch, it is not free from mistakes. The University of Vienna resolved to embody this work, commonly entitled *De Viris illustribus* or *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis,* into its monumental edition of the Latin *Fathers, the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum,* and engaged the services of Father Feder, S.J., to edit the work and prepare it for the press. The detailed studies made for this purpose, especially the discussion of the many manuscripts in which the catalogue has been transmitted to us, make up the contents of this separate monograph, "Studies Concerning St. Jerome's Catalogue of Writers."

No less than a hundred and eighty manuscripts of the catalogue, dating from the sixth to the fifteenth century, are known to exist. After a thorough investigation Fr. Feder recognized fourteen of them as the main source of our knowledge of the original text. To each of these he devotes a lengthy discussion as to age, origin, character of writing, transfer from place to place, dependence on other manuscripts, alterations made by later hands, etc. (The less important manuscripts are enumerated with brief notes appended to each.) *Codex* H for instance, though preserved in an English library and evidently written in England about 950 A. D., goes back to Irish sources. This is evinced not only by a few Irish words, put in the form of a gloss, which were not perfectly understood by the Anglo-Saxon copyist, but still more by the relative perfection of the Greek names which St. Jerome embodies in his work. Previous to the isolation of the Celtic Church by the turmoil of the Migration of Nations, a very correct copy of St. Jerome's original must have found its way into Ireland. The first copies derived from this

must have been made by men who knew Greek well, an accomplishment long retained in the Green Isle, after it had become almost extinct in Latin Europe. The later manuscripts of this class, however, did not always remain unaltered. The Greek words were less accurately copied. Other manuscripts, too, had their influence upon these copies, though the general character of the group remained clearly noticeable. *Codex* H is the chief representative of this class. Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries brought copies of this group to the continent, where, especially in Germany, they were widely copied.

After the exhaustive discussion of the manuscripts, the author devotes another chapter to the investigation of indirect sources. By indirect sources are understood quotations from the Saint's work and allusions to it in books composed at a later period. Sometimes whole passages are bodily taken over into some other book. There exists also a Greek translation of the work, made by a man who knew Greek well, but possessed only a mediocre familiarity with St. Jerome's Latin. It is interesting to find that the imitators of St. Jerome, i. e. those who after him compiled similar catalogues of Christian writers, do not contribute much to the knowledge of the original. Very naturally each of them continued where his predecessor had left off.

These are a few of the truly countless points painstakingly investigated and thoroughly discussed by Fr. Feder. He evades no objections, sets forth the pros and cons of every question, and clearly states his conclusions from which the attentive reader will rarely disagree. He winds up his work with a graphic representation of the mutual dependence of the various main *codices*. He has performed a labor never undertaken before, and he evidently meant to do it in such a way that it need not be done over again.

As we stated in the beginning, the work we are considering represents the preliminary studies for the editing of St. Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*. This task Fr. Feder has also completed though it is not yet printed. Nor will the learned editor see it in print. An untimely death, partly brought on by the privations of the war and post-war time, cut short his useful life, which had been spent in the service of God and the Church and in unselfish endeavors for the promotion of sound historical studies. His chief work, which may be called epoch-making, is the *Lehrbuch*

der Historischen Methode, a manual of historical method, which in the opinion of experts far outstrips its predecessors, even the famous textbook of Bernheim. Father Alfred Feder died at Valkenburg July 5, 1927, not quite fifty-five years old. The *Studien zum Schriftstellerkatalog des heiligen Hieronymus* is the last book which he saw through the press.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

Imperialism and World Politics. By Parker Thomas Moon. New York: The MacMillan Company. 1926. Pp. xvi, 583.

Instruction in history has for some years now exceeded the bounds of the time-honored text about the story of Europe and America. College instructors worried about providing reading matter in the world history which they wished to present to their students when they had well-stocked stacks from which to select their references; they were frantic when their library resources were meagre. Professor Moon has done these conscientious instructors a great service. The reviewer's own experience with students in a correspondence study course in the expansion of Europe in the nineteenth century enables him to speak with this assurance. Many of his students, often far from town libraries, eager to study because they dream of one day finishing at some college, have written to him thanking him for having suggested "Moon." He seems to solve their difficulties. He provides them with adequate background. He outlines clearly what happened. He interprets developments. From his pages they may go to other works and find only stray crumbs. Students in large towns with great libraries declare they can read more profitably the very particularized works which are there available.

Professor Moon's book has been so many times favorably reviewed that the writer can only solemnly chant an "Amen." But for the pressure of academic duties he would have led that chant of praise. He will be brief. The book is clearly organized and clearly written. In four chapters Professor Moon tells what imperialism is, and why and how Europe—and the United States—became imperialistic. Fourteen more chapters give a "factual analysis" of imperialism. Each sphere of imperialistic

activity is treated in one or more chapters. Clear-cut maps are regularly placed where the reader may with a minimum of trouble to consult them as he reads the narrative. Chapters are conveniently divided into topical sections. One, the final chapter, is devoted to a summary of the imperialistic movement.

The book is not only clearly, but also cleverly written. Never can one's interest fail. Professor Moon has the gift of clever character analysis. Queen Victoria, for example, was a "housewifely model of virtuous royalty" (p. 37), and "French statesmen are adept in the fine art of making expediency appear logical" (p. 41). On page 188 is a characteristic paragraph which we shall quote in full.

"White sails swelling full against blue water and bluer sky, a gallant French fleet coursed from Toulon through the Mediterranean, five hundred miles to the African shore, where among green palms gleamed the white mosques of Algiers. The Arab King or Dey of Algiers, so history relates, had recklessly struck a French envoy in the face with a fly-whisk or fan, and to clear the escutcheon of France there was but one conventional method. To be sure, three years had intervened since the Dey's indiscretion, and France during these years had diplomatically considered various projects of international intervention; but the lapse of years does not clear away an indignity to national honor. The French fleet, therefore, sailed in May, 1830, to punish Algiers. Furthermore, the French government announced its purpose to stop the attacks of piratical Algierian corsairs (then called "Barbary pirates") on European shipping in the Mediterranean. Still more important, though not publicly proclaimed, was the desire of Charles X and his ministers to achieve some brilliant feat of arms and diplomacy which would not only restore the lustre of French prestige, dimmed since Waterloo, but also revive the declining popularity of the tottering Bourbon monarchy. In vain British statesmen, fearful of anything which might destroy the quasi-sacred "status quo" or the still more sacred "balance of power," argued and threatened and demanded a promise that the punitive expedition would withdraw from Algiers as soon as a brief lesson in good behavior had been administered to the Dey. The bulldog's bark was worse than his bite, in this case. With impunity the French expedition occupied Algiers and the neighboring coast district, and prepared to stay. The Dey was shipped to Naples. Though the exploit failed of its principal purpose, namely, saving the throne of Charles X, it established France permanently in Algiers."

The German and Russian revolutionists played into Professor Moon's hands. He has diligently worked through the documents their governments have published in order to justify their existence by revealing the tortuous courses of their imperialistic predecessors. The footnotes guide one to the *Grosse Politik* and to other collections of sources. With this material at his disposal Professor Moon has been able to correct what we have been told and to tell us what we had not known before. Two or three years ago his colleague, Professor Earle, published a charming book on the history of the Bagdad Railway. It was based squarely on the sources and no pains had been spared in getting in all available evidence. Nevertheless Professor Moon has been able to correct Professor Earle (pp. 244 ff.). The point we have in mind here is the ephemeral character of works of both Professor Earle's and Professor Moon's type. The former has kept his work abreast of accumulating evidence, and we know that the latter also will.

Such a history as this could not have been written ten years ago even if the evidence had been available. The allied powers suffer at Professor Moon's hands as well as their Central European opponents, "The agreements which sealed the Entente were nothing more or less than imperialist bargains" (p. 200), and this statement is abundantly proved. Almost axiomatic is Professor Moon's observation on page 278. "Where two nations meet as rivals only at one point, as France and Germany did in Morocco, compromise is difficult because one or the other must accept defeat and humiliation; where they are rivals in many regions, as France and England were in 1904, or as England and Russia were in 1907, it is easy to bargain." He is under no delusions either about India's course in India or about ours in the Philippines. "When the boast is made that Great Britain has given India generous but gradual reforms, and that England's purpose is to teach India the difficult Anglo-Saxon art of self-government as rapidly as India can learn, the cynic will suggest that the measure of self-government granted to India has been more in the nature of concessions, in response to Indian agitation, than of unwelcome lessons forced on a sluggish student. . . . We may be permitted to comment, that giving a subject people the right to act, as England did in India and America did in the Philippines, cannot be anything but a half-

way house. The right to criticize infallibly stimulates a demand for the right to act" (pp. 299-300).

To only three matters does the reviewer object: (1) the use of *ibid.* in the notes for items carried from one page to another; (2) the map of Asia inserted with the twelfth chapter does not satisfy very well one's need for the study of Middle Asia; (3) the one misprint he found,—"the" for "to" on page 346.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Democracy and Finance in China: a Study in the Development of Fiscal Systems and Ideals. By Kinn Wei Shaw, Ph.D. **Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.** No. 282. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 215.

China today has many problems to solve. Of these the regulation of her financial system is not the least. This dissertation gives promise that China will one day order her fiscal system in a manner that will be in accord both with her ancient traditions and with modern practice. The feeling that prompts us to venture this prediction comes from a careful reading of the monograph. Professor Seligman, under whose direction Dr. Shaw wrote, is also of this opinion. He wrote of Dr. Shaw in the preface,—"he discloses a happy combination of the results of Eastern and Western training. Deeply versed in the classic lore of his own nation, he shows that he is able to put to good use the lessons of his American experiences without being untrue to his own traditions" (p. 7). With such men a new era is bound to come in China.

Part one, the introduction, is an admirable summary of the evolution of fiscal studies in China. This evolution, plainly stated, was determined by a struggle between principle and expediency, in other words, between idealism and empiricism. The theorists won, the theorists of the orthodox Confucian school, "who contented themselves with being expounders of traditional fiscal doctrines rather than original thinkers" (p. 43). Very direct are the reasons Dr. Shaw gives for this victory. Very much to the point, too, is the list of the factors that are combining to eliminate the deterents to the development of fiscal research from a new modern viewpoint. "China," he concludes,

"is ready for a modern democratic system of finance, without which no democratic government is possible. It is our opinion that the fiscal principles laid down by the ancient Chinese philosophers may be applied with excellent advantage in the formulation of a scientific and practical system, and that the fiscal experiments which the country has made throughout her history will serve to show the course to be followed and the pitfalls to be avoided" (p. 48).

Then follows Part Two, "a brief survey of the fiscal development of China, or a fiscal interpretation of China's political evolution." Over a hundred pages are given to the history of fiscal affairs from B.C. 2698 to A.D. 1912. Fiscal history in the Republican period, from 1912 to 1926, synchronizes with political developments. China passed through a stage of decentralization (1912-1913) to fiscal centralization (1913-1916) only to be plunged into chaos (1916-1925). Since 1926 the trend has been toward reconstruction. Among the causes of the unsatisfactory state of fiscal affairs, Dr. Shaw notes in particular "the bondage of the unequal and unjustifiable treaties relating to the tariff restrictions and the exemption of the alien residents in China from taxation. Both these restrictions have contributed immeasurably to the fiscal difficulties of the present Republic. The third and fourth causes are of internal origin. They are the destruction by the military autocracy existing in China throughout the last decade of the necessary requirements of a modern fiscal machinery, namely, the administrative, judicial, and legislative control of budget-making, accounting, reporting, and the proper handling of the responsible officers, and the lack of democratic fiscal statesmanship, which has made the Republic the prey of a host of selfish, greedy, and unprincipled ministers of public finance, who were contented to be the cashiers of militarists rather than of the people at large" (p. 167). "It is evident, therefore, that unless some underlying principles for a democratic constructive fiscal program are formulated, no proper re-distribution of political power between the national and local governments can be made, nor will it be possible to find a scientific and lasting solution for all the pending difficult fiscal problems which confront China today. If this diagnosis is correct, a study of fiscal ideas from both the theoretical and practical points of view is necessary" (pp. 167-168).

In Part Three, consequently, he formulates certain principles of fiscal study which will enable China to attain political happiness. He finds for these principles ample foundation in his people's history. Military expenditures were considered less important than expenditures for worship, diplomatic relief, famine relief, etc., by the framers of the constitution of the Chow dynasty. (B.C. 1122-256). Parsimonious governing also was denounced by Lin An in the Tang period (A.D. 618-907): "A great nation can not be governed by petty methods." Governmental economy is to be judged not only by the amount spent but also by the purpose for which the money is spent. We will not quote Dr. Shaw's conclusion—his own work should be carefully read. In general, he doubts that China can solve her political, economic, and educational problems unless fiscal reforms are first achieved. The Chinese not only may learn much from the West but also can deduce many lessons from their ancient philosophers and statesmen.

The Libelle of Englishe Polycye: a Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436. Edited by Sir George Warner. New York: Oxford University Press. American Branch. 1926. Pp. lviii + 126.

The literature of English economic and public policy which was so luxuriant in the days when England was or was not to be an overseas power had, like other types of literature, its poetic age. This "Libelle" was the product of the era of the first Anglo-French Hundred Years' War. That conflict had been going on, however, over a century before this pamphlet-poem was written. While Edward III lived the English had the better of the argument over the retention of Southern France and of the wine trade. Under his successor, Richard II, operations lagged and the war should have come to an end. The Lancastrians, however, renewed it in order to distract public attention from themselves and to deter other claimants from contesting their occupation of the throne. All went well with the Lancastrians; even northern France became theirs through timely victories and the assidious and far-sighted policies of one of England's forgotten statesmen, the Duke of Bedford. Even Bedford, however, could

not succeed in defiance of French nationalism incarnate in Jeanne d'Arc and the lukewarm conduct of England's principal ally, Philip, the duke of Burgundy. The girl's spirit survived the stake. English fortunes waned in France and Lancastrian fortunes waned in England. The House of York, unmindful of England's foreign stakes, pushed their claims to the crown. In those days, when empire, and, therefore, also trade was slipping out of the hands of the English merchants, when even their domestic dealings were annoyed by the civil wars, this poem was written. In the quaint diction of the age it points out the advantages of commerce to the English, and emphasizes in particular the need of controlling the channel.

> "Cheryshe Marchandyse, kepe Thamyralte,
> That we be mysteres of the narowe see."

The author of the poem does not commit himself on the subject of the French wars. Englishmen had had enough of overseas fighting. Trade will develop of itself as it does with other peoples. Carefully he surveys the commerce of Spain, Portugal, of Brittany, of Flanders, of the Italian cities, of the Baltic countries, of the Netherlands, of Ireland. Finally he likens England, as did John of Gaunt in Shakespeare's "Richard II" to a city with the sea as its walls,—

> ". . . this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands. . . ."

Sir John Warner devotes some space in his introduction to a discussion of the identity of the writer of the poem. Perhaps this question must after all stay unanswered, convincing as the writer is. We welcome the book especially for the definitive text and the editor's comment upon it.

History of the American People. By David Saville Muzzey. Boston: Ginn and Company. Copyr. 1927. Pp. vii + 715 + xlv.

Professor Muzzey's preface gives us sufficient material for comment. His text keeps the promises of the preface. Again we

have a text which is too much concerned with the living present. "Approximately one-half of the book deals with the period since the Civil War, and more than one-half of that half is devoted to our history in the twentieth century" (p. iii). The earlier chapters "have been oriented to explain the experiences by which the American people have evolved those ideas and ideals with which they face the problems of today. It is a common fallacy, in our over anxiety to make history 'up to date' to regard questions which have been 'settled' in the past and which are no longer 'live issues' as unimportant" (p. iii). We cannot bring ourselves to agree with this plan of teaching American history. The subject is difficult to grasp as it should be grasped. Hence, the period of our history, which is relatively simple, that is, is complicated with the inter-working of relatively few movements, should be fully developed so that the boys and girls may learn how to reason historically. The object of the high school course should be not so much to deluge the scholars with a multitude of facts as to train them to think on the basis of a few facts. We should not, of course, have the period since the Civil War, or since 1900 slighted. These periods can be treated more understandingly if students have had the benefit of the training which we advocate in the earlier period. Then, too, they will be the more ready for the course in Problems of Democracy which usually follows that in American History. Yet, there is hope for the future. Professor Muzzey has oriented his chapters about the past with a view to explaining his chapters of the present. Again we agree with the author that the task of the memory in learning of history should not be too much minimized. We are glad, too, to see him use the word, research, in quotation marks.

"Realizing that the crowded curriculum of the schools of today makes," he says, "extended 'research' impossible for the pupil, the author has endeavored to include in the text the essentials of American history for the high-school and the college preparatory student. How much outside reading or work on special topics the teacher can assign to the pupils will depend on a number of circumstances. . . ." (p. lv). The word, research, has been so misused by "educators" that the youngster in the grades who goes for information to one of the specially prepared "infantile" encylcopediae says that he is doing "research" work. Scholars will have to invent a new term for their

labor of adding to the sum total of human knowledge if "educationists" do not stop babbling nonsense.

So much for the general principles. In particular, the book approaches the author's two-volume work on the history of the United States. Some of the chapter headings in the text under review correspond word for word with chapter headings in the larger work. Their contents not infrequently are closely in accord. There is the same vivacity of presentation, the same quality of alertness to essentials. "America is the child of Europe," begins this book and the idea is repeated (p. 479) in a quotation from Emerson, "Europe extends to the Alleghenies; America lies beyond." Other essential ideas are similarly brought out and echoed and re-echoed in later pages. Pointed as are Professor Muzzey's comments and fairly stated as are his remarks on vexed issues, we wonder whether the best textbook should not also emphasize our cultural advances. Literary and artistic developments, educational and religious progress seems to us to get too little attention. We are confirming our young folk in the materialistic views of our machine age instead of calling their attention to the better things in life.

Like all Ginn books this volume is handsomely produced. The maps and illustrations leave nothing to be desired. The type and the page do not tax young eyes or old. Each chapter is equipped with ample citations for collateral reading, with topics for special reports—each topic in turn is provided with references,—and pointed questions for review.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

British History for American Students. By William Thomas Laprade. New York: The MacMillan Company. Pp. xvii + 913.

Englishmen have a mean way of writing their history, for that matter anybody's history. They load their pages with facts and seldom think of interpreting them. They have peculiar ideas about themselves. Not all English historians, of course, deserve such criticism. Professor Laprade, we assume, thought that enough of them do or did to warrant his writing this text book. "It is based on the assumption that the primary aid in

the study of history ought to be to acquire understanding rather than mere information about unconnected facts" (p. vii). We think he has succeeded. The American undergraduate should enjoy the book. Its topical headings will catch his eyes. The Wars of the Roses are the "Suicides of the Magnates." The economic specifications of Adam Smith and of his followers are "Doctrines to Suit the Times." Not less pointed are the contents. The author frankly states that the average American undergraduate is interested in British history because British history is part of the background of his own American history. Facts are to be selected with this end in view. Not all facts contribute equally to this object. He is sorry that some facts will have to be omitted. So are we, but we close the book feeling that our selection would after all not have been superior to that of Professor Laprade. The author, furthermore, is as sensible in his thinking as he is alert in his writing. He sees the logic of the medieval ban on interest-taking. He does not condemn John, but carefully reviews opinions pro and con, though he fails to mention that he fought to regain what had been filched from the crown while Richard was off crusading. He has sympathy for Queen Mary. We might go on thus through the field of the English history, but will content ourselves by quoting a characteristic bit of his writing and reasoning.

"When the Germans undertook to use suasion with Austria Hungary, the latter power was already at war with Serbia. Russia, therefore, determined on mobilization to help the smaller Slav power. But Russian mobilization obliged the German authorities to decide whether to come to the assistance of their ally at once, or, as they feared, to postpone the struggle with Russia to a later date, when that power would be better prepared and Germany without her ally. Moreover, there was a possibility that the Russian mobilization might be on such a scale as to threaten Germany as well as Austria-Hungary. Germany sent an ultimatum demanding that Russian mobilization cease, failing which, war would be declared. But war on this scale would, of necessity, involve Russia's ally, France, and the German authorities decided to ascertain the attitude of Great Britain. They were willing to guarantee the safety of the French coasts, for which the British were responsible, and of French territory, though not of the territory of the French colonies. But when the British addressed inquiries to both France and Germany as to their intentions concerning the neutrality of Belgium, of which

they were joint guarantors, while the French declaimed with alacrity any intention of violating that neutrality, the Germans offered the plea that to make answer would reveal their plan of campaign. This plan of campaign had, in fact, . . . been known in advance, and the British and the Belgians had concerted plans for meeting such a move" (pp. 833-834).

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi. By David I. Bushnell, Jr. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology. Bulletin 83. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1927. Pp. x + 103.

Mr. Bushnell has turned from the study of the burial ways of the Eastern Indians to those of the Western. The present monograph, in some respects a sequel to that published by the Institution in 1924, is necessarily based on the diaries and works of early Western travelers and missionaries. Unfortunately "burial scenes were seldom witnessed by persons who were prepard to record what transpired." Printed records, therefore, are scarce. Mr. Bushnell's list of these records is good, but we do not think it is exhaustive. A visit to the Ayer collection of books and manuscripts relating to the Indians of North America and of the possessions of the United States in the Newberry Library, Chicago, would, no doubt, have enlarged the list. Though the monograph is hardly exhaustive, it is useful and exceedingly interesting. He pays fine tribute to that indefatigable Western missionary, Father de Smet,—"few persons were as well acquainted with the peculiar customs and understood the characteristics of the native tribes of the Upper Missouri Valley as did the great missionary, Father de Smet. He traversed the country during all seasons of the years, visited the Indians in their widely scattered camps, and in many instances became their friend and comforter" (p. 46).

The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century. By Charles Homer Haskins, Gurney Professor of History and Political Science in Harvard University. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. x + 437.

When an eminent French historian, writing in the *Journal des Savants* some years ago, expressed the hope that Professor

Haskins would some day give us a work dealing with the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century he made a prophetic utterance which has had its fulfilment. Professor Haskins has given us a splendid volume bearing this identical title. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* has been written for the average student, the author tells us; and in this as in his other published works he seems to have purposely banned forbidding evidences of erudition and tells his story with a charm equalled only by his profound scholarship. He has the rare faculty of being both comprehensive and impressive and no other author with whose products we are familiar discusses problems so succinctly and attractively.

The title of the volume is explained in the preface where it is stated "that modern research shows us the Middle Ages less dark and less static, the Renaissance less bright and less sudden, than was once supposed. The Middle Ages exhibit life and color and change, much eager search after knowledge and beauty, much creative accomplishment in art, in literature, in institutions." As to the period under discussion, Professor Haskins says: "The twelfth century left its signature on higher education, on the scholastic philosophy, on European systems of law, on architecture and sculpture, on the liturgical drama, on Latin and vernacular poetry." He says that "the theme is too broad for a single volume, or a single author," and he confines his study to "the revival of learning in its broadest sense—the Latin classics and their influence, the new jurisprudence and the more varied historiography, the new knowledge of the Greeks and the Arabs and its effect upon Western science and philosophy, and the new institutions of learning, all seen against the background of the century's centres and materials of culture."

The volume has twelve chapters: I. The Historic Background; II. International Centres; III. Books and Libraries; IV. The Revival of the Latin Classics; V. The Latin Language; VI. Latin Poetry; VII. The Revival of Jurisprudence; VIII. Historical Writing; IX. The Translators from Greek and Arabic; X. The Revival of Science; XI. The Revival of Philosophy; XII. The Beginning of Universities. In Chapter I, we find this: "Both continuity and change are characteristic of the Middle Ages. . . . This conception runs counter to ideas widely

prevalent not only among the unlearned but among many who ought to know better. To these the Middle Ages are synonymous with all that is uniform, static, unprogressive; 'Mediaeval' is applied to anything outgrown until, as Bernard Shaw reminds us, even the fashion plates of the preceding generation are pronounced 'Mediaeval'" (p. 4). "Unlike the Carolingian Renaissance, the revival of the twelfth century was not the product of a court or a dynasty, and unlike the Italian Renaissance, it owed its beginning to no single century" (p. 11). Discussing "Intellectual Centres" (Chapter II). Professor Haskins says that "the intellectual life of Western Christendom was not widely diffused throughout the population. It conspicuously lacked both the pervasivness and the rapidity of intercourse to which the modern world is accustomed. . . . [The] intellectual centres, representing different social strata, consisted chiefly of monasteries, cathedrals, courts, towns, and universities. . . . The chief centres of culture had been the monasteries. Set like islands in a sea of ignorance and barbarism, they had saved learning from extinction in Western Europe at a time when no other forces worked strongly toward that end. . . . They were kept in some sort of relation with one another by the influence of Rome, by the travels of the Irish monks, by the centralizing efforts of Charles the Great, and by the great Cluniac reforms of the tenth and eleventh centuries, so that books and ideas often passed over long distances with a rapidity which surprises the modern student" (p. 33). He then gives us an insight into court life, cathedral chapters, and travel:

> . . . The journeys of English ecclesiastics to Rome give the impression of a large amount of travel. Five bishops and four abbots from England attended the Lateran council of 1139. There was an English cardinal by 1144 and an English Pope, just returned from Scandinavia in 1154. On the last of several visits to Rome, *ca.* 1150, Bishop Henry of Winchester brought ancient statues and came home by way of Spain and Compostela. Robert, prior of St. Frideswide's at Oxford, who dedicated an abridged Pliny to Henry II, visited Rome more than once and penetrated as far as Sicily. Two men of letters, Walter Map and Adam du Petit-Pont, stand out in the large British delegation that attended the council of 1179. The monks of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, sent thirty missions to Rome in the course of the century, those of Christ Church seventeen. Bishop Philip of

Bayeux, a notable collector of books, made at least four visits to Rome. John of Salisbury visited Italy at least six times, consorting with the Sicilian chancellor, and serving eight years at the papal court; he met the Pisan translator Burgundio and at least one Greek interpreter (p. 67).

The chapter on "Books and Libraries" should be read and inwardly digested by the *magna turba* of ill-equipped dabblers in the subject of mediaeval learning; for Professor Haskins summarizes in his usual informative manner the history of libraries and their contents. Among the "certain constant elements" of every well appointed library of this period we find:

> First, the Bible, often in many duplicate copies, with Jerome's version frequently accompanied by the gloss and commentary which supplemented the text with those interpretations, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical, which overlaid the literal sense with a mass of conventional and universally accepted exegesis. At any epoch the mediaeval mind was full, not only of phrases and allusions drawn from the text of Scripture, but of overtones of allegory and mysticism which each verse carried with it.
>
> . . . Next came the service books of the church—missal, antiphonary, lectionary, gradual, troper, etc.—an ecclesiastical calendar, and one or more monastic rules. Then the Fathers: Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory [to whom] Scripture had something for all minds, "pools where lambs may wade and depths where the elephant may swim" (p. 80).

As to the care with which books were kept we find that certain books were kept in chests under lock and key and others "which were placed outside for free use on the spot and were often chained to the desk for safety, *cathenati ad communem utilitatem*. 'The chained Bible' which has been the object of so much virtuous indignation on the part of Protestants was chained for the purpose of insuring, not restricting its use" (p. 85).

Discussing the cultural aspect of the twelfth century there are two lengthy chapters; but visions of an "extra signature" with its corresponding bill precludes more than the briefest reference to these classic pages. Yet we cannot resist the impulse to note the following:

> The body of Latin classics available to the twelfth century was much the same as that available to-day, for nothing of importance has been lost since, and little has been transmitted to

us by other means than the manuscripts then in the libararies of Western Europe (p. 105).

* * * * * * *

The twelfth century was a great age, probably the culminating age of religious poetry. Being strikingly active both in religion and in literature, it naturally produced a very large amount of religious literature, but not so much by the creation of new types as by the development of older forms in quite extraordinary number and variety. The material is so vast, and so much of it is characteristic of the Middle Ages as a whole rather than specifically of the twelfth century, that we must pass over it rapidly. Some of this poetry was religious in the wider sense. . . . Much was religious in the more special sense of association with religious worship (p. 167).

Possibly those who are disposed to regard the thirteenth as "the greatest of centuries" may dissent from Professor Haskins' statement in this section, as St. Thomas of Aquino, author of the *Lauda Sion,* and Jacobus de Benedictis (the reputed author of the wonderful monody, *Stabat Mater*) are identified with this later age.

To continue our citations:

The Roman liturgy was a fruitful parent and grandparent of new literary forms, for as it gave birth to the sequence and the trope, these in turn created other poetry and drama, religious and, at least ultimately, secular. Of these, the greatest historical interest attaches to the religious drama as the source of the secular drama of the later Middle Ages and of modern times (p. 171).

In the concluding pages of the chapter on "Latin Poetry" we have an illuminating description of the *Goliardi,* or "the wandering scholars" and the other "jongleurs of the clerical world." Professor Haskins says "Golias was a school, if you like, or an epoch, but not an individual" (p. 179).

Should certain sections of the chapter dealing with "The Revival of Jurisprudence" be brought to the attention of the *illuminati* of the Chicago renaissance, we fear that Professor Haskins is liable to be haled before the inquisitors of the new educational curia for he has a cryptic insinuation in the statement that canon law "had a profound influence on criminal justice on the Continent, while in England it shaped certain branches of law, like wills, which were finally taken over by the

civil courts." He even says that [Roman Law] "extended to peoples of Northern Europe, and was then spread by modern colonization to lands beyond the seas of which the Romans had never even dreamed, to Quebec and Louisiana, to Spanish America and the Cape of Good Hope" (p. 194).

"Historical Teaching," which is the subject matter of Chapter VIII is, of course, of particular interest to the reviewer, and it is inspiring to be told that "one of the best expressions of the intellectual revival of the twelfth century is to be seen in the writing of history" (p. 224). Fifty pages are devoted to this topic, and the amount of information supplied is beyond adequate appraisal in a brief review. We have lengthy notices of Odericus Vitalis "the best French historian of the century whose volumes are a mine of information for the life of the age"; of Otto of Freising who was "historian and philosopher, monk and bishop"; of William of Malmesbury "who has an honorable place in English historiography"; and of Abaelard we have this—"A vain man, vain of his penetrating mind and skill in debate . . . by nature always in opposition, a thorn in the side of intellectual and social conformity. . . . Always it is he who is right and his many enemies are wrong" (p. 259). There is a very valuable paragraph on Adam of Bremen (who had lived in the preceding century) "who had dedicated to the archbishops of Hamburg that remarkable account of the beginnings of Christianity in the Scandinavian lands which is one of the most informing documents offered by the Middle Ages to the history of exploration. Besides recording the missionary labors which brought the Scandinavian countries within the sphere of Christian civilization, Adam has also something to say of those newer lands to the West, Iceland, Greenland, Vineland the Good, discovered beyond the dark seas to the westward by intrepid Norse voyages" (p. 264).

It may interest the readers of the *Catholic Historical Review* to learn that one of its distinguished contributors—Dr. Francis J. Tschan, of State College, Pennsylvania, is about to edit an English version of Adam of Bremen's narrative.

Most of the contents of Chapter IX had already appeared in Professor Haskins' *History of the Mediaeval Science* which was reviewed in our columns soon after publication. "The Revival of

Science" and "The Revival of Philosophy" (Chapter X and XI), will naturally appeal to those who are interested in issues which are just now attracting the attention of the learned gentlemen who are patrons of our newest publication *The New Scholasticism;* and we believe the following citation will remove doubts regarding the supposed obscurantism of Catholic teaching in our schools of philosophy:

Any account of mediaeval philosophy must take into consideration the matter of intellectual liberty, the freedom of the thinker to follow his conclusions to the end. In general, this freedom was far greater than is commonly believed. Within the limits of the doctrines of the church, men were free to speculate as they would, and these limits were not felt as a restriction to the degree we might imagine. Teachers of law and medicine, of grammar and logic, of mathematics and astronomy, did not find themselves held down by prescribed rules. As Thorndike has shown, experiment and research were much freer than has been supposed. Nor, in the absence of the social sciences, were there any of those conflicts with civil authority which have disturbed writers on these subjects in recent times. When Bury [in his *History of the Freedom of Thought,* p. 52] speaks of the Middle Ages as "a millenium in which reason was enchained, thought was enslaved, and knowledge made no progress," he goes far beyond the facts of the case (p. 361).

The final chapter which discusses "the beginnings of Universities" amplifies what is contained in Professor Haskins' splendid little sketch, *The Rise of Universities* (New York, 1923), and contains a digest of Rashdall's, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895) and the epoch-making work of Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400,* i (Berlin, 1885). The importance of the development of learning in the twelfth century is emphasised in the following:

The twelfth century was not only an age of revival in the field of learning, it was an age of new creation in the field of institutions, most of all in the institutions of higher learning. It begins with the monastic and cathedral schools, it ends with the earliest universities. We may say that it institutionalized higher learning or at least determined that process. In 1100 "the school followed the teacher," by 1200 the teacher followed the school (p. 368). . . .

Besides producing the earliest universities, the twelfth century also fixed their form of organization for succeeding generations. . . .

. . . The modern university is derived in its fundamental features . . . from Salerno, Bologna, Paris, Montpelier, and Oxford. From these the continuity is direct to our own day, and there was no other source. The university is a mediaeval contribution to civilization, and more specifically a contribution of the twelfth century (p. 369).

We have had all manner of explanations of "Commencement Day" which is in many instances for parents of limited means, a *dies tribulationis*. It had its origin in that older time when graduates had to pass examinations that were real tests of academic attainment and obtained a license to teach (*licentia docendi*):

Historically, all degrees are in their origin teachers' certificates, as the names doctor and master still show us; a Master of Arts was a qualified teacher of arts, a Doctor of Laws or Medicine was a certified teacher of these subjects. Moreover, the candidate gave a specimen lecture, or, as it was said, incepted, and this inception is the origin of the modern commencement, which means commencing to teach. An examination presupposes a body of material upon which the candidate is examined, usually a set of standard text-books, and this in turn implies systematic teaching and a minimum period of study. Curriculum, examinations, commencement, degrees, are all part of the same system; they are all inherited from the Middle Ages, and in some form they go back to the twelfth century (p. 371).

To each chapter in the volume Professor Haskins appends "A Bibliographical Note," and each "Note" is in fact a *catalogue raisonné* of the works dealing with the subject-matter of the chapter. In addition there is an Index which is unusually detailed.

This erudite work should find a place wherever there is any pretence to scholarship among teachers of history; and the use of it would serve as a corrective to the loose thinking and the didactic assertiveness of jejune instructors and certain venerable pedagogues whose vision is so circumscribed by an inherited astigmatism that the far horizon of the Middle Ages is necessarily drear, and dread, and dark. Professor Haskins has done much to illumine the study of a period which has long suffered from the benighted self-assurance and dictatorial finality of an unfortunately rather large contingent of teachers of history in certain institutions of higher learning in the United States.

P. W. BROWNE.

The Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain. By Georgiana Putnam McEntee, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The story of the Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain as set forth in these pages reads like an inspiring epic. For all that it is far from being purely laudatory, but at every turn gives ample evidence of unbiased historical research and calm judgment. The epical character of the narrative is not due to the subjective construction of the author but to the outstanding fact that the inauguration and the progress of the movement are linked with names of rare brilliancy and associated with personalities that cannot fail to arouse enthusiasm. Moreover the special difficulties which the movement encountered on British soil invest it with an interest that is peculiarly its own. And if success counts for anything, the social efforts of the Catholic minority in Great Britain have in this respect been blessed in an extraordinary measure. These several factors taken in combination give the story its distinctive features.

The inauguration and also the general orientation of the Social Catholic movement in Great Britain must be credited to Cardinal Manning, whose sympathetic interest in the sad lot of the poor of his flock turned his thoughts in the direction of social betterment. This origin of the movement in practical necessities no doubt accounts for the fact that social reform among British Catholics has always remained in close contact with realities and never lost itself in mere academic theory. This practical character of the movement may be regarded as a valuable legacy of the great Democratic Cardinal. Cardinal Manning did not always find the support which his unselfish endeavors deserved. Luckily he was a born fighter and not easily discouraged. Apostolic authority and the judgment of posterity set the seal of approval on his magnificent work. The enthusiasm of the author for the heroic figure of the Cardinal can be readily understood, for it is one that will kindle the imagination. She can hardly be blamed for allowing it to eclipse in her mind the importance of Newman who was cast in such an entirely different mold. Withal she is not blind to the human limitations of the great man, still the more rugged traits of his character might have been brought out in stronger relief, for

they sustained him in his inevitable isolation and incessant battles.

Manning's work did not die with him. There were many to take it up and carry it on, albeit in ways different from those of the originator. Cardinal Vaughan, the successor of Manning in office, was also heir to the social movement, into which, however, he did not throw himself with the same grim determination and stubborn resolution characteristic of his predecessor. Other tasks made heavy demands on his time and attention. The Social Catholic Guild, however, which is at present the concrete expression of the Social Catholic Movement in England, may be traced back to him. His efforts in behalf of temperance likewise deserve mention. In more recent days Cardinal Bourne has taken up the social traditions of his predecessors and developed them along new lines. With unflinching courage he has denounced social injustice wherever it is to be found. If he has condemned the abuses of the capitalistic system, he has been equally emphatic in reproving the lack of a sense of social responsibility in labor and its leaders. As the movement goes on it broadens until in our own days it assumes international proportions. It must not be thought that the course of the movements was always smooth; there has been opposition, disillusionment, misunderstanding, apathy. All in all, however, the balance sheet shows very favorably for the English Catholics. As we turn page after page, it is borne in on us what an enlightened minority can do under good generalship and with disciplined organization.

Of course, English Catholics also had to take a definite attitude to various current economic and social doctrines. In their criticism of economic heresy they manifest remarkable moderation and a rare sense of proportion. Even in their indictment of Socialism they are rarely carried to extremes.

Besides the names mentioned above, others stand out in this narrative. We point not without admiration to the following: Archbishop Bagshawe of Nottingham, Charles Stanton Devas, Msgr. Parkinson, Henry Sommerville, Hilaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton, the Fathers John Ashton, S.J., Bernard Vaughan, S.J., Henry Day, S.J., Vincent McNabb, O.P., Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., Charles Plater, S.J., J. Keating, S.J., Herbert Lucas, S.J., and Miss Virginia Crawford. The last mentioned name reminds us

that the Catholic women have played no insignificant part in the Social Movement of Great Britain.

It might be fascinating as well as instructive to make a comparative study of the peculiar modifications which the Social Catholic Movement has undergone in different countries under the influence of varying circumstances. For such a study, which without doubt would prove very enlightening, the present volume together with Dr. Parker T. Moon's constitutes the preliminary work.

There is just one statement at which umbrage might be taken. It is the following: "In one sense there is no Catholic school of political economy, in the sense, namely, that there is no Catholic school of mathematics or physics" (p. 94). It is true, the author immediately qualifies the assertion, but that by itself proves that the statement is not entirely correct.

Extensive reading has gone into the making of this well documented work, which notwithstanding its solidity is written in a fluent and pleasing style. For American readers the perusal of the book will be especially profitable since the general conditions of our own country resemble very much those obtaining in Great Britain.

C. BRUEHL.

S. Ambrosii de Nabuthae. A Commentary, with an Introduction and Translation. By Martin R. P. McGuire, A.M. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University, 1927.

The Catholic University of America deserves to be congratulated on the magnificent editions of patristic texts published by its students. The typographical execution of these volumes is really splendid; evidently no trouble has been spared in their production; while the care shown in the annotation of the text, the learning and breadth of reading in its explanation are no less admirable. These excellent qualities are strikingly displayed in the present edition of St. Ambrose's discourse *De Nabuthae* by Mr. McGuire. The author, in his opening pages, gives a brief literary conspectus of the text he has chosen. He then examines its vocabulary, pointing out the words eschewed by the Golden Age of Latin prose, and some rare ex-

pressions hardly found elsewhere. The saint, he concludes, was a purist with a great fondness for Ciceronian and Vergilian words. In this connection, we may remark, that A. S. Walpole in his notes to St. Ambrose's hymns points out how frequent are the Vergilian reminiscences. The next section (pp. 17-45) studies the great bishop's syntax. Ambrose affects especially the impersonal passive, transitive verbs followed by a dative with omission of their direct complement, the employment of the subjunctive in iterative sentences and with *fortasse*. Pp. 46-103 are occupied by the text with a parallel translation. Mr. McGuire's translation is flowing and excellent. The commentary (pp. 104-238) is copious, and leaves no real difficulty untouched. He shows how deeply indebted to St. Basil the bishop of Milan is and takes particular pains to stress and illustrate the idioms and usages of Silver Latin.

In a rather mischievous portrait of Lord Cromer, Sir Edmund Gosse tells how the retired statesman was constantly egging him on to purchase Greek and Latin classics for the library of the House of Lords. When Gosse entered into the sport so heartily as to add some of the Fathers for the edification of their Lordships, Cromer was displeased for, "it rather annoyed him to recall that several of these oracles of the early Church had written in Greek." We fancy his lordship's pique would be tinged with tolerance and respect could he have seen those admirable texts of the Catholic University of America, wherein a thorough knowledge of the pagan classics and a sympathetic unfolding of christian masterpieces are so happily allied.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, PH.D.

Universal Knowledge, Vol. I. New York: The Universal Knowledge Foundation, Inc. Pp. 842 (double column) with twenty-one maps, and ninety illustrations (half-tones).

This, as its subtitle indicates is: "A Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences, History and Biography, Law, Literature, Religions, Races, Customs and Institutions" compiled with a view to meet not only the requirements of students but of the general reader and inquirer in terms simple yet comprehensive. Such

a work was needed since during the past third of a century we have had no general encyclopedia that is actually "new."

The tendency of encyclopedia makers of recent years has been to resort to injudicious "padding" where a *réchauffé* was not possible. Moreover, much of the information contained in other productions is fragmentary. Not so with this new work, though occasionally, let us state quite frankly, certain articles have not been compiled with that rigid care for accuracy which is characteristic of the volume as a whole. For example, the article "Antigonish" should have been more carefully worded; so, also, the reviewer avers, the article "Andorra" should have been more closely supervised. The writer of this review knows both Antigonish and Andorra and suggests that the article under this caption is not as it should be. Andorra is neither a "sovereign state," nor is it a "republic"; and there is no such Department in France as Arièger! These, of course, are unimportant items; they are noted for the future guidance of the compilers.

Each title in the volume gets specific treatment, having its own article but each is part of the whole, so that the user can connect one subject with another and grasp the relative importance of both. The articles are written as concisely and compactly as possible.

An outstanding feature of *Universal Knowledge* is its simplicity. The human interest of the subject discussed is never absent. The volume has 3,387 titles, 460 titles more than are treated in any other encyclopedia in the English language, ranging from "A" to "Azymites."

Some of the principal titles in the work are: from political science, ABSOLUTION, ALLEGIANCE, ANARCHY, ARISTOCRACY, AMERICANIZATION, AUTHORITY, and AUTOCRACY; from economic science, ADVERTIZING, AGRICULTURE, AUTOMOBILE, AVIATION; from linguistics, ALPHABET, the ARABIC, ARAMAIC and ARYAN languages. Military science figures in ARMY and ARTILLERY, as well as in biographies, of Admiral AMMEN, for instance, who was commissioned to prospect for a Nicaraguan canal in 1870. The sciences ANATOMY, ANTHROPOLOGY, and ASTRONOMY, ART and ARCHITECTURE are treated fully but succinctly, as are all the geographical titles already mentioned. Very interesting and complete is the article AQUEDUCT, and also ATHLETICS.

Under the letter A comes numerous titles in mythology, 118 in all; and titles also of legendary persons and places. Indeed, the classical Greek and Latin names occur in such number as to make the volume serve for a classical dictionary. The student in any school from high to postgraduate or professional could have no better *vade mecum* at hand. Law terms number 123, all treated by experts as are also the medical terms numbering 53, besides many biographies on lawyers and physicians who did something of note. Chemistry, physics, botany, all have their share of titles so that the volume is a complete repertory. Here is literature of all times and of all nations, art, drama, music, philosophy, logic, psychology, sociology, biology, geology, engineering, mathematics, archæology, history, national and international topics, education — answers to every inquiry, suggestions for subjects of composition and essays, unlooked-for items that set one thinking, reading and inquiring further, with books of reference listed after every important article to aid research and satisfy inquiry.

THE TEXT is in 8 pt. modern (Roman) 8A; the headlines are in 10 pt., and the titles of articles in 8 pt. modern (Antique) 25J; the cross-references in 8 pt. modern (Antique) 25J. The columns are numbered so as to make index references more convenient.

THE PAPER, specially made, is opaque, clear white, without glare, easy to turn.

THE MAPS, printed specially, are up to date. Ten are 8x11 inches. Seven are 5½x8½ inches. They are in four pleasing colors.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS — Ninety subjects, done in halftones, made by Austin Engraving Company.

THE FRONTISPIECE—The School of Athens, by Raphael, in four colors, on heavy art gloss paper.

P. W. B.

NOTICES

(Selected volumes from this list will be reviewed in later issues.)

The House of Martha at Bethany, by Herman J. Heuser, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, and New York) is an appealing book.

By having recourse to "accredited sources of tradition," the reverend author has given us an interesting introduction to the Acts of the Apostles where, he tells us, "the first vestiges of Christ's Church are sketched by the inspired historian St. Luke." Those who have read "In the Workshop of St. Joseph" from the same pen, will not be disappointed in the present volume. The biblical characters move naturally, the sacred scenes are vitalized under the gifted pen of Reverend Doctor Heuser. In these pages we grow familiar with the Martha and Mary and Lazarus "whom Jesus loved." We marvel at the intrepid Stephen and the indomitable Paul. We admire the faithful Joseph of Arimathea and the prudent Nicodemus. We tread the soil they trod, view the scenes they saw, and feel the emotions that surged through their breasts during those troublous days of the nascent Church when fervor ran high and faith was firm in the midst of traitors within and foes without the fold.

The book will make pleasant and instructive reading for every student of Church History. Instructors of the subject will find it an aid in vitalizing their matter. Many a preacher can cull within these pages material to enliven a sermon or enrich a text. In the Catholic home it will form a splendid supplement to the ordinary life of Our Lord.

J. F. L.

Christ in the Christian Life According to St. Paul, translated from the French of J. Duperray by John J. Burke, C.S.P. (Longmans, Green & Co. London and New York) is an able translation of a thesis for the doctorate by a learned Lyonese priest. The subject is most opportune, since to-day so much is being written and talked about concerning the mystical body of Christ. The present volume explains quite fully and scientifically this doctrine of the Church which is so distinctly Pauline. Who like the Apostle of the Gentiles emphasises our incorporation with Christ, our identification with Him as the adopted sons of God, our resurrection in and with Christ, and our heavenly inheritance because of our supernatural brotherhood? These facts are the very basis of Christianity. In giving them to English readers the translator has made us his debtors, and has given another instance of his worthiness to bear the new title of Doctor of Theology recently conferred on him by the Vicar of Christ.

J. F. L.

Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, by Maol-Iosa (P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York), is another record of one of those numerous Sisterhoods that sprang into being in our country about the middle of the last century, and have since done yeoman service in building up the Church in the United States. In 1865 a little band of three Franciscan Sisters arrived in New York and took up their abode in a little dwelling in West Thirty-first Street. Like all begin-

nings, it was unpretentious, but it heralded a great work the magnitude of which was little appreciated by the humble three who had the privilege of being the pioneers in the enterprise. They belonged to the numerous family of the Saint of Assisi. His ardent love of God animated them. His all-embracing charity prompted them to shun no opportunity to do good to their neighbor. Year after year saw their numbers increase and their labors grow apace. Their story is a thrilling one revealing as it does the brave spirit and self-sacrifice of "noble women not a few," who now as in the days of St. Paul, aid the Church in the spreading of the Gospel. Hence this volume, which is so well illustrated and so charmingly written, is a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the United States.

J. F. L.

Letters of a Loyalist Lady (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.) will be of absorbing interest to those who revel in the field of revolutionary literature. It consists of a series of letters by Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, who was commissioner of customs at the port of Boston during the nine years elapsing between 1767 and 1776. The price of the book may seem exorbitant, but when one considers the amount of research work necessary for such a production, it is not too much. These letters graphically depict the domestic life in the colonies just prior to the break with the mother country. They show the inconveniences sustained by both loyalist and rebel during those trying days. The Boston Tea Party is reenacted, the thrill of Lexington and Concord is lived over again. The book is limited to an edition of seven hundred and fifty copies, which should soon be exhausted. Such a distinct addition to our *Americana* deserves a place in every library in the land.

J. F. L.

The new Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries located at Brookland, near the Catholic University, has a little magazine of its own, called the *Medical Missionary*, published monthly under the editorship of Dr. Anna Dengel. This is the first Catholic medical mission magazine in any language. The Society itself, founded by Miss Dengel in 1925, consists of women doctors and nurses who have banded themselves together into a semi-religious community for the purpose of aiding our foreign missionaries in their work among the pagans. This is a noble work. Those who contribute to its support become participators in one of the most appealing phases of Catholic Missions.

Dr. Joseph Eberle, editor and publisher of the *Schönere Zukunft*, of Vienna, Austria, will send his excellent weekly on trial to any address in the U. S. three full months for eighty cents. The *Schönere Zukunft* not only has one of the leading Catholic journalists of Central Europe as editor, but regularly prints contributions from bishops, statesmen, scientists and other writers of the highest rank from all over the Catholic world. Each issue contains an extensive "Kulturelle Rundschau," which is alone worth the price of subscription. We trust that many of our readers will avail themselves of Dr. Eberle's liberal offer. Address: *Schönere Zukunft*, Wien XIX, Nusswaldgasse 14, Austria.

Mgr. Beaupin, reviewing in a recent issue of *Les Amitiés Catholiques Françaises* Mgr. Grente's volume, *Le Beau Voyage des Cardinaux Français aux Etats-Unis et au Canada* (published by Plon, Paris), says:

Le beau voyage des Cardinaux français c'est un plèlerinage aux souvenirs français, de Etats-Unis et, à plus forte raison encore, du Canada. Nos frères catholiques de ces deux pays les gardent, d'ailleurs, pieusement, s'y montrant parfois plus sensibles qu'un très grand nombre de nos compatriotes qui les ignorent. Ce livre les aidera à corriger cette ignorance et aussi à prendre conscience de la force de rapprochement et de la puissance de sympathie que créent entre les peuples l'évocation de leur commun passé religieux.

La France doit, incontestablement, à l'apostolat catholique, héroïquement exercé par tant de ses enfants, une très grande partie des amitiés fidèles qu'elle possède dans le monde.

Et si l'on cherche, pour aider les nations à se comprendre, un moyen d'y reussir, en voici un excellent entre tous: leur faire commémorer ces heures où le zèle des uns engendra la religion des autres.

Au reste, ce qui s'est passé, à Chicago, en 1926, *n'est-il pas une illustration magistrale de ce que vaut le catholicisme, pour opérer la fusion des âmes, fussent-elles séparées par les plus hautes barrières politiques ? Négligera-t-on indéfiniment, pour aider à établir la paix du monde, les incomparables enseignements de fraternité chrétinne que donne un Congrès eucharistique international et que celui de Chicago, magnifiquement, a son tour, à donnés.*

En somme, Le beau voyage des Cardinaux français aux Etats-Unis et au Canada *est un hommage rendu à ceux qui les accueillirent outre-mer, avec tant de bienveillance respectueuse et de déférent empressement. Il a resseré, partout où sont passés les éminents pèlerins, des liens d'amitiés françaises, mais en un sens si catholique, que ce n'est pas seulement la France qui en profitera, mais la cause d'une meilleure harmonie des esprits et des cœurs, entre de grands pays qui ne se connaîtront jamais trop.*

The autumn issue of the breezy *Indian Sentinel*, recently published, contains a report of the golden jubilee of Father Pius Boehm, O.S.B., who has been working with zeal and success on the Crow Reservation in South Dakota since 1887; brief accounts of this year's congresses of the Catholic Chippewas of Minnesota and the Catholic Sioux of North Dakota; an article on Indian names by the Rev. Hy. S. Spaulding, S.J., who spent his summer vacation among the Sioux of South Dakota; several papers on the Eskimos of Alaska; letters from different Indian missionaries; obituary notices of Bishop D. M. Gorman, of Boise, Idaho, who is described as a true missionary bishop; of Fr. L. B. Palladino, S. J., who came to Montana at the instigation of Fr. De Smet in 1871 and not only proved a spiritual father to the Indians, but taught them how to farm and irrigate their lands; and of "He Dog," one of the last of the great Sioux chiefs, who pleaded the rights of his people before the President of the U. S. as early as 1877 and was instrumental in founding St. Francis Mission School.

There is other interesting matter in this number of the *Indian Sentinel*, nearly all of it lavishly illustrated. The subscription price is only $1 a year. Write for a sample copy to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission, Washington, D. C.

We are soon to see the completion of the greatest work in dictionary-making ever undertaken. First conceived in 1857 by Dean Trench, the actual labor on it began soon after, so that nearly seventy years have been consumed in producing what is now known as "The New English Dictionary." First it was called "The Oxford Dictionary," because it was begun under the auspices of the Clarendon press. Later it was often popularly known as "The Murray Dictionary," in recognition of the fact that Dr. J. A. H. Murray was longest its indefatigable editor, having given in all some thirty-six years to the publication.

The value of this wonderful lexicographical achievement is enormous. All who have made acquaintance with the successive volumes have known how and why to prize them. From the first the plan was not only to print and define every English word, but to illustrate its historical development, together with the very minutest shade of meaning, by quotations from English writers. This meant that the services of an immense body of readers had to be enlisted. These were mainly voluntary, and the flood of clippings and citations poured steadily in upon the editors in a tremendous volume from all parts of the world. To file and classify and print these was necessarily the work of a conscientious staff and the labor of years. The complete work will contain 407,134 words, illustrated by 1,780,526 quotations. The result is a noble conspectus of the English language from its earliest days down to our own times.

There is no other kindred work to be compared with it. "The New English Dictionary" is a treasure house for scholars, and at the same time a source of instruction and delight for the ordinary reader. Being a product of full and precise knowledge, it is a splendid resort against current blunders and arrogant but ignorant pedantry. Cocksure teachers and condescending lecturers and critics who delight to tell you that such and such a word or usage is "not good English" are the easiest persons in the world to confute out of the pages of "The New English Dictionary." It is a veritable monument of exact and patient scholarship.

The compiler of "By Products" in the New York *Times* says:

"Aspirants for the William Hale Thompson $10,000 prize for a model history of the United States will do well to remember that the task is not quite so simple as they may at first think. It is more than a question of showing King George where he gets off. On the constructive side due account must be taken of the non-English Assembly districts. Steuben and De Kalb go without saying. No less than 143 voters of Dutch ancestry have appealed to Mayor Thompson for their share of the honorable mentions. Chicago's Italian constituency denounces the discrimination practiced against Christopher Columbus in favor of Leif Ericson and the Norwegian vote. And since it is maintained in some quarters that Columbus was really a native Spaniard the situation obviously grows more complicated. The best chance of grabbing off the $10,000, therefore, will accrue to the historian who is careful to see to it that while perfidious Albion gets the worst of it, everybody else comes in for a good word. A few concrete examples should suffice.

"On Aug. 3, 1492 (July 25, Russian Gregorian Calendar; the 14th day of Tishri, year 5238, Jewish Calendar; and in case the Syrian and Persian vote

amounts to anything, the 12th day of Ramadan, year 896, Mohammedan Calendar), three little vessels set sail from the port of Palos, actually situated in Spain but claimed, with more than a fair show of title, by the Portuguese and the Greeks. The names of the three ships are usually gives as the Pinta, the Nina and the Santa Maria, but modern research has established that they were really the Pronto, the Nein Nein, and the Sean Machree. The commander of the little fleet was Christopher Olaf Raoul Seumas Szandor Wlaclav Aristides von Colombo. The voyage was financed in part from the sale of jewels contributed by Queen Isabella. The jewels were of Spanish gold engraved by Italian artists in the finest style of the French Renaissance and inset with diamonds ground at Amsterdam by German experts. Part of the expenditure was borne by the leading bankers of Seville, with branches at Naples, Frankfurt-am-Main, Warsaw, Stockholm, Prague and Beirut. It was von Colombo's destiny, without detracting from the credit of his great enterprise, to duplicate the feat already accomplished by the intrepid Leif Ericson. However, it should be stated in behalf of von Colombo that if he was not really the first man to cross the Atlantic, he was the first husband and father to do so. Evading an English fleet which lay in wait for him, he landed on American soil on Oct. 12, 1492, which is Oct. 3 by the Russian calendar and approximately two weeks after Rosh ha-Shonah."

Le Père Joseph Denis, Premier Récollect Canadien (1657-1736), par le R. P. Hugolin, O.F.M., avec une Introduction par M. Aegidius Fauteux, two vols., published by the author at the Franciscan Monastery, Montreal, is a valuable contribution to a sadly-neglected phase of Canadian ecclesiastical history.

The Franciscans, who laid the foundations of the Catholic Church in Canada, as nearly everywhere else on the American Continent, have never had the attention or recognition by writers of Church history in America to which they are entitled. M. Fauteux, in a very brilliant introduction to the text of these volumes says:

> Comment expliquer, à l'endroit des Récollets, ce silence qui a toutes les apparences d'une longue injustice?
>
> Nous croyons qu'il faut en chercher une première explication chez les Récollets eux-mêmes. Chacun sait qu'en matière de renommée, comme en bien d'autres, l'on n'est jamais si bien servi que par soi-même. Or, nos missionaires franciscains du XVIIIe siècle paraissent avoir délibérément négligé cette précaution si humaine. Lorsqu'ils s'embarquaient pour une poste quelconque que la Providence leur avait destiné, ils ne songeaient même pas à encombrer d'une trompette leur bagage extrêmement simplifié. . . . Si, plus que tous les autres, le Récollet est resté ignoré, c'est que, moin que tous les autres, il n'a pas parlé de lui.
>
> Il faut aussi se souvenir que les Récollets étaient les moines les plus pacifiques de la terre. Or les pacifiques font souvent du bien, mais ils ne font jamals de bruit, et chacun sait que pour entrer dans l'histoire un peu de fracas n'est pas inutile. Comment parler de quelqu'un qui n'a pas d'ennemi et on ne peut pas même rappeler la moindre petite querelle avec son voisin? Et l'on peut dire que c' a été le cas des bons Récollets.

The volume though treating specifically of the life of the saintly Fr. Joseph contains many interesting facts regarding the heroic lives of the earliest apostles of Canada—the Franciscans, after whom came the Jesuits whose history is so minutely recorded in the many-tomed *Relations*.

Le P. Louis Hennepin, O.F.M., Missionaire au Canada au XVIIe siècle: Quelques jalons pour sa biographie comes to us from the Librarie St. François, Rue Duvernay, Montreal, and is a reprint from the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, volume xviii, of an article by Fr. Jérome Goyens, O.F.M. By way of introduction to this contribution, the author says:

> Les pages qui suivent ne sont nullement une apologie du Père Louis Hennepin; elles contiennent plùtôt une revue succincte des principales publications parues à son sujet. Après un court aperçu de la vie de ce compatriote, religieux et missionaire, nous évoquons sa cause au tribunal impartial de l'histoire.

There is much that is valuable in these sixty-six pages; but the writer of this note who has read them very carefully finds nothing that would tend to elucidate the nebulous story of the Flemish Recollect who had such a kaleidoscopic missionary career.

New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest, by John Bartlet Brebner (The Columbia Press, New York) is a frank discussion of a subject which, like Hennepin's career, has been the subject of much controversy, some of it of a superlatively acrid nature. Dr. Brebner's work "is meant to provide an accurate and dispassionate account of a most complicated experiment (in British colonial policy) rather than to argue the virtues and vices of the Acadians or debate the policies of Great Britain, New England, France, and New France, which involved them." It does not include the story of the expulsion and dispersion of the Acadians because the mere fact of the expulsion is sufficient for the purposes" of the author. Readers of this book will perhaps be inclined to reach the conclusion that Longfellow's "Evangeline" took too many liberties with the facts of history and created sympathy which still endures, particularly when Dr. Brebner proves that "Longfellow's own New England almost controlled the course of events in eighteenth century Nova Scotia and even provided the agents for the tragedy which the poet deplored." This is indeed a valuable contribution to colonial history and quite unlike any other volume either in French or in English dealing with Acadia which the writer of this note has seen.

The *University Catholic Review*, the organ of the Catholic Societies Federation of Great Britain, is the latest accession to our list of exchanges. It supplants the *Inter-University Magazine* whose name (says the editor, Fr. Martindale) "did not suggest the full scope of the aims of the Federation." It is stated further: "The new title at least accurately describes our work and it fits into the name of the Federation. The thing to remember is that we are trying to organize University Catholics, and not simply Catholic undergraduates."

The contents of the initial number are noteworthy, particularly the articles, "Religion and Art," by W. R. Childe, and "The Catholic Woman in Social Life," by Miss Kathleen Balfe, President of the Catholic Women's League of England and Wales, who has for a long period been identified with the movement which she discusses. We hope the new periodical will have a large circulation and a prosperous career.

Notes on the History of Catholics in York County, by Anna Dill Gamble, and published by the author, at Harrisburg, Pa., is an informative booklet of fifty pages, splendidly printed, with ten excellent illustrations. It is dedicated: *"To the memory of the Clergy of France, whose timely and lavish generosity had so notable a part in the success of the War of the Revolution."*

Miss Gamble says very modestly that her pages "make no pretention to be other than a collection of Notes from various sources to show the Catholic people of York County the richness of their history."

The booklet was issued "in celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the first Catholic parish in York, St. Patrick, and of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the meeting of the Continental Congress in York."

We congratulate Miss Gamble on this painstaking effort to present so attractively many interesting facts. Her statements are buttressed by evidence in every instance, largely documentary. May we venture to express the hope that other Catholic women writers shall emulate the example of the gifted York penwoman. There are numerous sections of this country, notably within the borders of the original thirteen states where lie buried historic treasures awaiting only enterprise and initiative on the part of Catholic delvers. Here is an excellent opportunity for some of the "literary" graduates of our Catholic Women's Colleges to do something worth while for American Catholic history. May we suggest, nay plead, that they follow the trail blazed so distinctly by Miss Gamble and two other capable Catholic women writers of the State of Pennsylvania. We are getting altogether too much literary flummery and weavings of "airy nothings" from our Catholic Institutions and not enough of the productions that endure.

Father Joseph E. Grady of Rochester, N. Y., has printed (privately, apparently) *A Syllabus of a Course in Ecclesiastical History for Secondary Schools*—a brochure of twenty-six pages. This will no doubt be helpful for the purpose intended. May we respectfully suggest to the compiler that in the event of another printing that his lists of "Reference Books on Ecclesiastical History" and "Suggested Readings in Ecclesiastical History" be pruned and that additions be made of books that are really worth while.

Putnam's Historical Atlas (C. P. Putnam's Sons, New York) is something out of the usual in this particular field. It is not simply an Atlas but a concise encyclopedia of historical geography, and it contains an extraordinary amount of information. The maps are exceptionally clear and the coloring is distinctive. Even the smaller corner inserts are perfect in detail. The introductory material is of great value to students who have hitherto had little acquaintance with the use of cartographical aids. The writer has been using this Atlas for some time in his class work at the Catholic University of America, at Trinity College, and at Catholic Sisters College where map-study is particularly emphasized, and can recommend it as being eminently useful.

The *Fortnightly Review* (December 1) in its "Current Literature" section thus notes the following valuable publications:

—The official report of the German Section of the Chicago Eucharistic Congress has just appeared under the title *XXXVIII. Internationaler Euchar-istischer Kongress zu Chicago, Ill., U. S. A. Bericht der deutchsprachigen Sektion. Herausgegeben vom Komite.* It is a richly illustrated octavo volume of 222 pages, and contains a sketch of the city of Chicago, a historical survey of the previous international congresses, the official programmes of the Chicago Congress and of its German Section and—as *pièce de resistance*—the sermons and addresses delivered by the leading German-speaking delegates to the Congress, including Cardinal Faulhaber, Bishop Berning of Osnabrück, Bishop Waiz of Innsbruck, Msgr. Ignaz Seipel, Vicar-General Rosenberg, Dr. Krebs, and others. We understand that a general report of the Congress is in preparation, but as it will not contain these German addresses, the present volume has a distinct *raison d'être* and forms a part (not the most insignificant part, we can assure our readers) of the complete record of the Congress. The Mission Press of the Society of the Divine Word (Techny, Ill.) is to be congratulated upon issuing this *Festbericht* in such fine style at the unusually low price of $1.75, postpaid.

—The Franciscan Fathers have been well advised in publishing a descriptive volume on *The Friars Minor in the United States; With a Brief History of the Orders of St. Francis in General.* The volume somewhat belatedly marks the septicentenary of the death of St. Francis of Assisi and gives a comprehensive survey of the Order of Friars Minor in this country, as of June 30, 1926. The avowed object of the compilation is to "serve as a memorial of the self-sacrificing labors of the Friars who have carried to our shores the torch of the Franciscan spirit." A secondary object, though not expressly stated, is obviously to inform the public of what the Friars have done for the honor of God and the salvation of souls in the various provinces into which the Order is now divided: Sacred Heart (St. Louis), Holy Name (Cincinnati,) Santa Barbara (Calif.), Immaculate Conception (New York), and the commissariates of the Assumption of the Bl. Virgin (Pulaski, Wis.) of the Holy Cross (Lemont, Ill.), and of the Holy Land (Washington, D. C.), and through the Franciscan Missionary Union, a pious confraternity of priests and lay people for the support of the Indian and foreign missions in charge of the Friars Minor. The volume concludes with a useful "Directory of Franciscan Foundations in the U. S." It is beautifully printed and lavishly illustrated, and will no doubt serve several good purposes, among which, we trust, that of increasing the membership of the Franciscan Missionary Union will not be the least. (Published under the Authority of the Ministers Provincial of the Friars Minor of the U. S., at 1434 W. 51st Str., Chicago, Ill.)

The Relation of the State to Religious Education in Massachusetts, by Sherman M. Smith, Ph.D. (Syracuse University Book Store, Syracuse, N. Y.) is a discussion of the dissociation of religious instruction from secular teaching in Massachusetts, New York, and other northern sections of the United States. It is a full and, as far as we are in a position to judge results, splendid survey of the subject. The author traces the gradual elimination of the religious element

until Horace Mann's program brought about the complete severance of religious training from the public school curriculum. All that is now left is compulsory reading of the Bible, and pupils may even be excused from taking part in this should parents object. Professor Smith has devoted considerable space to such compromises as "The Lowell Plan" which was found to be unsatisfactory in due course. It was not unlike the famous Faribault-Stillwater arrangement which caused such an amount of controversy within later years. Some irrelevancies in connection with certain characteristically Celtic names might with propriety be eliminated from such a serious study. The volume is a valuable contribution to American educational history. It is well documented, has an extensive bibliography, and a satisfactory index.

Catholic Foundations in Secular Universities, by Mario Barbera, S. J. (Woodstock College Press, Woodstock, Md.) is an English rendering of several important articles which appeared some months ago in the *Osservatore Romano*. This is a very timely pamphlet and deserves wide circulation among Catholic educators in the United States. It actually presents in somewhat different form the several notable pronouncements of His Grace Archbishop Curley on the Catholic Foundation question.

Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest, by Grant Forman (Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio) is an attractive book even from the mechanical aspect; it is published in a special format and, like all historic publications of the Clark Company leaves nothing to be desired as a splendid example of the printer's art. It is a graphic story of the old Southwest, woven from materials hitherto unpublished. Mr. Forman's data are largely drawn from original archival sources. The author must have had a most difficult task in gathering his material, for those of us who ferret in musty archives find that the most difficult phase of collating historical material is the winnowing process of separating the wheat from the chaff. Naturally in using the material there is always the danger of overlooking much that is important; yet, in the main Mr. Forman's story is an excellent picture of the early record of happenings in stirring days of attempts at colonization in the outposts of European adventure. The translator of a document relating to Spanish expedition under Villasur (p. 17) states in the *American Historical Review*, (p. 148): "The Villasur expedition never went to Missouri; that it reached the Valley of the Platte in Central Nebraska in August 1720, and was there destroyed by the Otoe and Pawnee warriors."

The book has been issued in a limited edition, and the publishers inform us that it will not be reprinted.

The Berkshire Studies in European History, edited by Richard A. Newhall, Lawrence B. Packard, and Sidney R. Packard (Henry Holt and Company, New York) "have been planned to supply teachers of European history with reading matter for their classes which is neither too specialized and technical nor too elementary." Four of these "Studies" have come to use: *The Crusades*, by Richard A. Newhall, Williams College; *Europe and the Church Under Innocent III*, by Sidney R. Packard, Smith College; *The Commercial Revolution, (1400-1776)*,

by Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College; *The Industrial Revolution (1750-1927)*, by Frederick C. Dietz, University of Illinois.

The writer has used these volumes in his class-work and has found them most helpful. All of them are valuable, notably the two, *The Crusades*, and *Europe and the Church under Innocent III.* An excellent feature of these publications is that, though published in good format and well made up, they are not expensive and thus will appeal to the members of history classes who are not over-burdened with an allowance for the purchasing of books that are actually necessary.

The Jesuit Enigma, by E. Boyd Barrett (Boni and Liveright, New York) is a pretentious book, being an attempt by a former Jesuit to furnish for popular consumption a psycho-analysis of the Society of Jesus. It is a pathetic volume and the reading of it will perhaps evoke sympathy for the author. Few people, however, will accept this lugubrious wail as a criterion whereby to estimate the Society of Jesus either as to its Constitution or its membership. The only part of the volume that is really original is that wherein is recorded Dr. Barrett's career as a member of the Society which he now attempts to spit for the delectation of sensation mongers who revel in what seems to be a *chronique scandaleuse*. The writer of this notice holds no brief for the great organization which Dr. Barrett assails so ingloriously. As a teacher of history said writer has had to deal with all these "revelations" many a time and oft. May we say it? Eugène Sue and McCabe *et al.* have tilted better with the windmills than the latest Don Quixote. The one conclusion reached after a very careful reading of this unfortunate book is that Dr. Barrett was temperamentally unfitted to lead the life of rigidly-disciplined organization. Hence the "explosion" psychologically and otherwise.

Readings in Hispanic American History, by Andrew N. Cleven, Ph.D. (Ginn and Company, New York, and Boston) is, so the author assures us, not intended as a history text. It is "a modest selection of sources from which history may be made." It may be said, and the writer should like to emphasize the point, a book which furnishes to teacher and student alike an *instrument de travail* the lack of which has long been felt by those interested in the study of the History of Latin America. We agree cordially with Dr. Robertson, who furnishes an Introduction to the book, where he says: "This book of documents creates a new epoch in the study of Hispanic American History."

The selection of documents is admirable, covering as they do nearly every phase of the subject quite adequately. Professor Cleven has supplied the necessary explanatory notes and a good glossary. The book has four major divisions: I. The Establishment of the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World: II. Hispanic American Wars of Emancipation: III. The Development of Nation States in Hispanic America: IV. International American Relations. These cover 142 subdivisions, each of which is a an important document. The volume is well made, and durably bound, like all the Ginn publications, typographically excellent.

Report of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, held at Athol Springs, New York, July 1-3, published by the Conference under the supervision of Father Felix M. Kirsch, O. M. Cap., Capuchin College, the Catholic University of America, Brookland, D. C. This volume is a worthy successor of former Reports put out under the direction of Father Kirsch, and, if we may dare say it, the best yet issued by the Conference. It deals specifically with "Franciscan Preaching" and contains the papers read at the Conference, with the ensuing discussions (some of these are more important even than the papers, *pace auctorum*). The papers covered various aspects of the *officium apostolorum* as exercised by the Franciscans: "How St. Francis won the Heart of the World," by Fr. Anthony Linneweber, O. F. M.: "The Course of Homiletics in our Curriculum," by Fr. Fulgence Meyer, O. F. M.: "Preaching—The Opus Franciscanum," by Fr. Victor Mills, O. F. M.: "The Franciscan Mission," by Fr. Bede Hess, O. M. C., S. T. D.: "The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209-1927)," by Fr. Anscar Zawart, O. M. Cap.: "Franciscan Preaching in the Past," by Fr. Victorine Hoffman, O. F. M. Some of these papers deserve wider publicity than that afforded by the *Report*, and we suggest that the capable and energetic Secretary of the Conference publish as a monograph the "History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers," by Fr. Anscar. It should make an attractive booklet. We beg to say, however, that it be revised in some of its details, as there are some manifest slips; for example, in the case of Blessed Raymond Lull's productivity, where it is stated: "In these years (during his mission activities) as many as three thousand separate works came from his pen."

Fr. Kirsch has made the contents of the *Report* available to the student by providing a copious index. Copies of the *Report* may be procured from Fr. Kirsch, at the Capuchin College, Brookland, D. C.

Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole, edited by H. W. C. Davis (Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York) is an unusual type of publication which bears as a Dedication:

> *These essays are presented to* REGINALD LANE POOLE *by Colleagues, Pupils, and Friends, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, in recognition of the services which he has rendered to historical science as an editor, a teacher, and a writer, and in particular for his unfailing willingness to put his learning at the disposal of his fellow-students.*

The value and importance of this notable tribute to one of the outstanding scholars of the day may be deduced from the following contents: the *Magna Chirurgia* of Guy de Chauliac, by Arthur Ernest Cowley; The Localization of Manuscripts, by Falconer Madan; Eo quod expressa mentio, &s., by Charles Geogre Crump; The Household of the Chancery and its Disintegration, by Thomas Frederick Tout; Concerning some Gloucestershire Boundaries, by Sir Charles Oman; A Note on the Work of the Wyclif Society, by the Rev. James

Pounder Whitney; Historical Review, by George Norman Clark; An Incident of the Decian Persecution, by the Rev. Edward William Watson; Lindsey and its Kings, by Frank Merry Stenton; An Alleged Charter of William the Conqueror, by James Tait; Some Documents of the Anarchy, by Henry William Carless Davis; A Money-lender's bonds of the Twelfth Century, by Hilary Jenkinson; An Italian Master Bernard, by Charles Homer Haskins; The Register of Master David of London and the part he played in the Becket Crisis, by Zachary Nugent Brooke; Alexander of St. Albans, a Literary Muddle, by Frederick Maurice Powicke; England and Burgundy in the Last Decade of the Twelfth Century, by Austin Lane Poole; La Prima Relazione del Cardinale Nicolo de Romainis Sulla sua Legazione in Inghilterra, by Monsignore Angelo Mercati; Roger Bacon on Alphonse of Poities, by Clement Charles Julian Webb; Thomas Docking and his Relations to Roger Bacon, by Andrew George Little; John de Benstede and his Missions for Edward I, by the late Charles Lethbridge Kingsford; The Negotiating of the Treaty of Leake, 1318, by John Goronwy Edwards; The *Historia Aurea* of John, Vicar of Tynemouth, and the Sources of the St. Albans Chronicle (1327-77), by Vivian Hunter Galbraith; An Act of Edward III as Count of Toulouse, by Charles Johnson; the Authors cited in the *Defensor Pacis*, by Charles William Previté-Orton; An Oxford Hall in 1424, by the Rev. Herbert Edward Salter; The dispossessed Religious after the Suppression of the Monasteries, by Geoffrey Baskerville.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A Plea for Mexico.—In the *New York Times* (October 2) Mr. Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal* makes a plea on behalf of Pope Pius XI for enlightened public opinion concerning the religious persecution in Mexico. Mr. Williams during a recent visit to Rome received the message from Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State.

The Vatican message on Mexico is as follows:

"Again and again the voice of the Pope has been raised both in solemn allocutions and encyclical letters to tell the truth about Mexico to the world; but the carefully laid plans of the persecutors of the Church have prevented it being heard by all in its entirety; indeed, sometimes it has hardly been understood at all, especially where such understanding would have been most useful.

"The press of America is in a position above all others to remedy this wrong. The gratitude of the Holy Father will therefore go out to all who will help him to make the truth known to the civilized nations, and thus to alleviate the miseries of an immense region, and of a whole nation, borne down by the hardest and most unjust of religious persecutions.

"Nothing like this persecution has ever been known in history, not even in the first centuries of the Church. For then, even under Nero, Caligula and Domitian, there was no general persecution of private religion in homes, the catacombs or the cemeteries.

"But now in Mexico nothing that is Catholic is tolerated, not even the private celebration of the Mass and the administration of the Sacraments, punishment for which has in many cases been the death penalty, and always fines, imprisonment and murderous outrages. Massacres are of daily occurrence. Every sort of brutal attack on Catholics is committed with impunity. The most criminal violence is employed to force them to apostatize from the faith into corruption and civil and moral anarchy.

"Notwithstanding their noble resistance—winning the admiration of ourselves, and of the whole world that knows the fact—this people of confessors and martyrs finds hardly a soul to respond to their cry for aid to save them from utter ruin, and to save all civilized nations, and indeed the whole human race, from the infamy of a savage persecution now being tolerated in this twentieth century, the boasted era of civilization and progress.

"If the whole press, the whole nation, of the United States can find an opportune remedy for this disastrous social catastrophe, it will merit undying glory in the history of civilization and religion."

In his article, discussing the Pope's view of the character of the Mexican persecutions, Mr. Williams says:

"That Russian Bolshevism plays a great, if not the leading part, in the struggle between the Catholic Church and the Calles Government of Mexico is the belief held by Pius XI. And that the measures initiated and carried through by the present Mexican Government surpass in severity the laws or regulations that any Government would be justified in enacting is equally his conviction.

"But these statements fail, though true in themselves, to express the Pope's sense of the true nature of the enactments against the Catholic Church in

Mexico, for Pius XI believes that the Calles enactments constitute a persecution that surpasses any persecution recorded in history. * * *

"A third conviction held by the Pope is that the civilized world outside of Mexico is almost entirely ignorant of the character and extent of the religious persecution under Calles, because the latter and his supporters have been successful in preventing the truth becoming known."

It is made plain by Mr. Williams that, while the Holy Father regards the Mexican persecution as intimately connected with the great problem of Bolshevism, at the same time he sees Bolshevism as the chief menace to world peace, the other major problem with which the Holy See is now concerning itself.

"The Roman Question."—The press has lately been devoting considerable space to "The Roman Question." With some notable exceptions, the secular press correspondents are as usual drawing largely from sources which lack both honesty and accurate knowledge. Fortunately Catholic correspondents and editors are better informed. The following from the *Universe* (London) sums up the situation quite accurately:

On September 20, 1870, the Piedmontese troops entered Rome, and so brought about the end of one phase of what is loosely called "the Temporal Power." This was the result of Prussia's victory over France in the war then raging. It was freely said at the time and since that this was also the end of the Papacy and meant the downfall of "Romanism."

Yet to-day, fifty-seven years later, we find the Roman Pontiff still dwelling in his own Palace on the Vatican Hill, and controlling the destinies of the Holy Roman Church with even greater prestige and power. There are even now some few aged men who remember the old days of Papal Rome. They can tell, through their falling tears, how Pius IX walked abroad amongst his own happy, loving people, scattering his smiling and benevolent benedictions. After his passing, in extreme old age, Leo XIII was raised up to sit on the Throne of Peter and wear the Ring of the Fisherman. As statesman and diplomatist he was majestic and magnificent; holding the eyes of all the world by reason of his genius and personality.

Then he, too, passed away, to be followed by Pius X as a humble and saintly apostle, simply preaching the Gospel to his own people in the precincts of St. Peter's. After him Benedict XV put on the Tiara and ruled the Church in all her great tradition. So through these various spirits and changing characters we come to the Holy Father at present reigning in the Palace of the Vatican. Thus has the Church of God come through these fifty-seven years of storm and stress, trial and trouble. She now stands out amongst and above the nations greater and stronger than ever, and more certainly sure of herself as the only true fountain of spiritual power.

* * *

Yet all through these years of tense darkness in Rome, the Church, while mourning over the sins and sacrilege of her betrayers, has ever been busy about her Master's work. In the Vatican Palace the reigning Pope has given no

audiences upon this one black day in September, but the Church's great life throughout the world has been lived even more greatly.

The States of the Church were, and are, the freehold inheritance of the Pope-King by every right of justice and of law. They are still the Patrimony of Peter, and their confiscation was unjustifiable, and is even now unjustified. Succeeding Pontiffs since the usurpation have all asserted their divine and human rights in the High Court of Heaven's Justice. They have condemned all compromises, and have scorned to touch the tainted millions of Italian money which are still lying idle, as did the thirty pieces of silver which even Judas would not stoop to pick from the ground.

* * *

In a recent notable article the *Osservatore Romano*, as the official organ of the Vatican, again reminds the world, as it does every year, that the problem of Peace between the Pope and the Italian Government is still unsolved. Matters have much improved under the guidance of the Fascisti. The anticlerical party has died away of sheer inanition, having nothing to live upon but the prejudices of the past. Yet it is still plain that the essential points of the Roman Question are now quite unsettled. It is here the very first principle that the liberty and independence of the Pope, as the head of the Catholic Church, must be not only real and perfect, but also made manifest to all the world as an indisputable and an outstanding fact.

This matter is not simply a national question for Italy and amongst Italians. It is really a super-national and internationl concern. The Pope in his position as Teacher of the World and as Ruler of the Church, must have the fullest liberty and the most absolute political independence. More than this, it must be made clear and certain to the many millions of Catholics everywhere who are under his apostolic jurisdiction that he is, in every way, free to carry on his great office through the means of his own freely working offices and administration.

* * *

This Roman Question is not a thing to be settled in and by Italy alone. It is a thing which affects all Catholic peoples, both in the old and in the new world. It is not only with the nations or Governments that the Pope has to deal freely, but also and directly with all the peoples everywhere who are to be found within the world-wide Church of God. And the essential point about this Question is that the Supreme and Universal Pontiff must also be sovereignly independent—super-national, not the subject of any other sovereign or sovereigns, State or States.

The power, position, and prestige of the Roman Pontiff are unique in the lives of men. No other head of a religion would even seek to claim his rights and responsibilities. As the infallible representative of Christ the King he can be subject to no ruler or under any form of Government. His right to full freedom of speech and action can be and is based upon the needs of his Divine Office. But it may also rest securely upon the claim of every Catholic throughout the world who is under living obedience to him that he shall not even seem to be fetered in the slightest degree by the restraints of others, but shall stand out as unique and alone.

The prayers of multiplying millions go up to the Throne of God on high for His continued blessing upon this throne of His human Vicar on earth, standing unshaken still upon the Rock of Peter, even while the nations rage around it and men run after vain things. Yet we know, in our hearts, that, whatever may happen in temporal affairs, the whole world of men and women is now coming, even if unwillingly, to see and feel that there is still and only upon the hills of Rome the true seat and centre of the real Spiritual Power.

"Priest-Editors."—*Furor scribendi* is a very insidious disease which occasionally assumes symptoms that need attention. Fortunately it is usually sporadic. It is easily diagnosed and yields to quite simple treatment in which the waste paper basket in the editorial office is an important ingredient. This is by way of preface to the following splendid editorial in *Blackfriars* (November issue).

The Catholic bishops of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia not long ago issued a peremptory order strictly forbidding priests in their dioceses to edit newspapers, even Catholic newspapers, or to become permanent writers for the Press. We have not been able to discover the reasons that have dictated this Episcopal discouragement of clerical journalism; but it may without rashness, be guessed that the prohibition had something to do with the complicated political situation in Slovakia. The bishops are doubtless only giving expression to the wise desire to withhold their clergy from entering an unseemly welter of political passion and racial fury; there is no evidence to show that they have banned clerical journalism on the general principle that priests, by reason of their priestly office, are unsuitable persons to hold pens in their hands or to sit in editorial chairs. Indeed, the fact that St. Francis of Sales has been officially declared the Patron of Journalists would seem to make so sweeping a proscription impossible.

Yet a writer in *The Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis Missouri, U. S. A.) quotes this action of the Slovakian bishops as an argument against all priest-editors and clerical journalism in general. 'A similar prohibition might be salutary and profitable,' he says, 'if extended to other countries.' A priest who becomes an editor, he goes on to say, 'deserts his calling, neglects his training, and gives himself to a service that a layman can do as well.' Again, 'priests as a rule make rather unsatisfactory editors, not only because they are not trained for that sort of work, but because their hearts cannot be in it, since they have given up all for the priesthood, which is their great treasure, and where their heart is.' Moreover, 'where priests become newspaper editors, laymen must be hewers of wood and drawers of water.' In short, let the priest stick to his own job, which only the priest can do. The harvest is great and the labourers few; therefore, says the layman, let the priest concentrate all his energies upon the peculiar work for which he is specially equipped and set apart, and let him at least leave in lay hands the editing of his newspapers and magazines.

This criticism is perhaps worthy of notice from the *Blackfriars*, which, since its first appearance nearly eight years ago, has been edited by priests. The first rather extravagant assertion about the priest who becomes an editor being one who 'deserts his calling' need not concern us very much except to suggest

how interesting it would be as a mere exercise if we were to reckon up the number of Cardinals, Bishops and Priests who must, in the view of this writer, have been guilty of a black desertion of the highest calling of all.

As to the priest's lacking the training required in a journalist or editor, we may ask, what is this training and where does the successful lay editor acquire it? The training desirable in a writer implies a certain discipline that provides a man with a stock of ideas and the power of putting those ideas, more or less agreeably, into words; and would our layman assert that the education that goes to the making of a priest leaves him destitute of ideas or with his powers of self-expression undeveloped or diminished?

'Well, let the priest anyhow busy himself with his own noble work of saving and sanctifying souls: there is plenty of scope for both without his wasting time on editing and writing for the papers.' This objection is based on the most grotesque notion of what apostolic work means and what journalism means. A priest's essential work, as a priest, is to offer the holy sacrifice of the Mass, to administer the sacrament, and to preach the word of God. Whatever is incompatible with those stupendous duties is to be ruled out of his life. He may not become a stockbroker, or engage in commerce, or become a soldier; but there is no prohibition against his becoming a writer. After he has said his Mass and fulfilled his essential duties as a minister of Christ, there will still be time for him to engage in study, and if he has the inclination, to put his thoughts into writing, and even into print. The busiest missionaries have found time for writing amid their ceaseless labours—from the voluminous St. Alphonsus to Father Gavan-Duffy of the present day. It would have been more than a pity if St. Thomas Aquinas had been checked from writing through any qualms or scruples about its being inconsistent with his priesthood. It would be very lamentable if Fr. Ronald Knox was silenced or if Fr. Martindale's excellent jouralism—in the best sense of that much tortured word—had to cease appearing each week in *The Catholic Times*.

One of the most industrious and zealous parish priests that we know founded, a few years ago, a journal called *The Sower*, dedicated specially to the cause of Catholic education. Its editor has combined this splendid journalistic work with the exacting duties of a heavy parish. The latest number of *The Sower*, whose editorship Father Drinkwater has now handed over to Monsignor Gonne, is in itself a very eloquent refutation of those who would assail clerical journalism. The contributors to the October issue of this superb little magazine include a Cardinal, an Archbishop, a Bishop, a Monsignor, and two priests—a too brilliant company surely to deserve the shame of being deserters, repudiators of their own training, and usurpers of the functions of laymen.

There is no dearth of writers of the first rank among the Catholic laity of England, and if they do not always undertake the editing of journals which the clergy would gladly hand over to them, it is because they are making a wider appeal and influencing those who are not members of the Church. We are not urging any rivalry between clerical and lay editors and journalists. We are fortunate in this country in that all our newspapers and several of our reviews and magazines are under lay editorship. But our protest is against the prohibiting of priests from fulfilling what is part of their apostolic function. No

one would wish to advocate setting up an ecclesiastical Northcliffe; but a wise editor or newspaper proprietor—even one who was worldly-wise in the Northcliffian sense—might find it prudent or diplomatic to consult occasionally a priestly adviser in order to prevent him from perpetrating the blunders about things Catholic that constantly crop up in the daily press—or it might be really "news" if he asked some priest who knew how to hold a pen to explain exactly what transubstantiation means and what it means when used by the two prelates of the English Church who have been exchanging Open Letters.

There is, we maintain, a place for the priest in journalism.

"Risum teneatis Amici!"—We are not aware that the author of the *Ars Poetica* had in mind any pyrotechnic exhibition when he penned this line. It is quite apposite these days as the following excerpts from an editorial in the New York *Times* (November 20), suggest:

War is catching [says the *Times*]. Little can Mayor THOMPSON have thought—if thought may be imputed to him—when he gayly proclaimed a Jehad against perfidious Albion what other tribal wars would burst out in Chicago. His experts drew large drafts on their bank of knowledge. They exhibited British propaganda in American histories of America. Then the "Germans" and the "Irish" had their days in court. The spectators laughed, just as cynics did when they hung about Noah's Arkyard. One by one the nations of Cook County arose and cried out against the goings-on of the Muse of American History, who seems to be a good deal worse than the worst of her sex.

Most impressive was the Indian rising. The oldest American stock, after centuries of injustice, complains with dignified sadness of the continuing injustice of school history-makers. There is basis for the remonstrances. If we were Indians of a number of tribes characterized by THEODORE ROOSEVELT in his "Winning of the West," we should complain. Yet he always balanced his sentences and his judgments. There is no space for that in compressed textbooks, even if the writers were men of good will. Indian history should be composed by Indians. We don't know what the English have got against our Indians, and we are inclined to suspect Oklahoma. The rancor of the Dutch and the English is of ancient date. It was inevitable that the Gelderland Cousins Club, Inc., one hundred and forty-three cousins of Holland strain, should implore "BIG BILL" for ampler notice of the honorable share of the Hollanders in making America.

Far be it from us to light old fires, but the Pilgrims and the Puritans didn't love nor were they loved by the Dutch. Formerly, at least, most of the histories were written by the Yankees and none by the "Dutch." Can we believe that the "Dutch" had half a chance? At first it seemed as if the solution of the momentous Thompsonian question was to have a composite history wherein each "race" could have its heroes sung and its achievements related by one of its members. But the Italian-Norwegian campaign in Bigbilldom shows the fallacy of that supposition. For the Olive and the Vine have risen against Wineland. Who is this fabulous personage, LEIF ERICKSON, whom the Norwegians have foisted upon the school histories as the discoverer of America?

This Viking stuff must be "cut out." This "Viking blot" must be "removed from the escutcheon of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS."

So the fight is no longer against England alone. It is civil war. If the "Italians" insist on putting LEIF out, the "Norwegians" will ask in Frank B. Willis tones who Genoese CABOT and Florentine VESPUCIUS grab so much undeserved space in the school volumes. The "Swedes" will want to know why such brief, dry mention is given to the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. When the "Swedes" arise, the "Dutchmen," with all the ardor of PETER STUYVESANT and his New Netherlanders warring by land and sea against the Swedish "interlopers," will smite the "Swedes." The "Spaniards" are yet to be heard from. Though their names have been writ large on our earlier history, they have their grievances. The only thing that we remember from our American school history is the inscription by certain French Huguenots whose settlement in Florida had been wrecked by certain Spaniards, a little careless with fire, sword and rope.

The Huguenots, making reprisals in kind on a Spanish settlement, parodied savagely the Spanish description of the work, leaving this memento: "Not as to Spaniards and Catholics, but as to traitors, robbers and murderers." Are our "Spaniards" going to put up with that? Are our "Huguenots" to put up with the equally offensive Spanish collection of epithets? We don't know how strong the "Portuguese" are in Chicago, but they are strong on Cape Cod. They may be expected to protest against the statement in histories that MAGELLAN "put down with cold-blooded cunning and cruelty" a mutiny of his Spanish sailors led by GOMEZ, a native of Portugal.

That band of scholars, the Ku Klux Klan, has supported "BIG BILL" in his historical investigations; but the hour of parting must come to these two great forces of righteousness. Are the minds of our children to be debased by lying accounts of the discoveries and virtues of the long line of "Papists" that infest our history? Many of their names are, unfortunately, recorded in the school geographies as well as histories. "BIG BILL" started to battle with the Bull. All the other Signs of the Zodiac are coming into the shindy. There can be no school history that won't offend some of our "nations," probably all.

The friends of peace must take a lesson from that unachieved project of MR. GLADSTONE'S first Government for an Irish University. There was to be no University teacher of history. There lies the only hope of Thompsontown. Instead of throwing this and that history of the United States out, throw them all out!

A Factor in Catholicism.—In view of a recent psychic "explosion," the following tribute to the Jesuits by an outstanding authority is of importance. The authority is Hilaire Belloc. He says in "How the Reformation Happened," now running as a series in current publications:

> "Today I deal with the other main factor in the resistence and the recovery of Catholicism, what may be called the counter-offensive: the Jesuits. I have to deal with a very great subject in a very little room indeed, and my readers must excuse me if I am altogether inadequate; but I will try to provide the main lines of what happened.

The Clerks Regular of the Society of Jesus (for that is the full term,) or, shortly, the "Society of Jesus," was the product of one of the most remarkable men that have been known to history, the worthy creator of his achievement, St. Ignatius of Loyola, the son of a Basque landed family. His great religious experience, falling in his thirtieth year, was coincident with the first years of the troubles. It came within a few months of Luther's burning the Pope's Bull, i. e., 1521. Yet it is not till thirteen years after that even the smallest true organism appears, in 1534; not till five years after that that the consitution of the new body is sketched out; not till 1540, that it is confirmed by a Papal Bull, and even then on a small scale only; not till 1543 that it is permitted expansion.

It is, then, hardly an active force beginning its great mission before the end of what I have called the Period of Debate. All the first thirty years of the growing and seething anarchy in morals and doctrine had been at work before this instrument of order is beginning its career.

The first question we have to answer is: Why is such a long delay apparent?

We shall answer that question better if we put another one: "By what miracle did such an instrument appear at all?" No one had dreamed of it; its young founder had at first no plan of it. The idea grew for many years. The final acts which brought it into full being did not come in a process deliberately willed, but, as it were, incidentally, one upon the other. Lastly, it did not turn to the great work which it effected until it had already come into existence for a purpose somewhat different. I think it is true to say that had there been a thing deliberately planned from the beginning, to do what the Jesuits did, and continue to do, such a plan would have failed. I think it is true to say that the astounding part they have played to the advantage of Europe was only possible in a thing so developed from step to step and therefore so tardy in appearance.

First came St. Ignatius' own great spiritual experience, following on a wound received at the siege of Pampeluna. Then for years a purely private interior experience, full of all that trial which the saints in such years endure. A very small company of friends gathered round. But while the spiritual cause fell, as I have said, in 1521, it is only at the Assumption in 1534 that this little band of seven men (of whom only one was a priest) went from the University of Paris over to Montmartre and there banded themselves together in a simple fellowship. In 1539 the idea which had thus lain in that great brain was complete, and had taken for all essential purposes its external form, and the "Institute" drawn up by St. Ignatius was submitted to the Holy See.

There was in that idea something so novel that we can well understand why it lay at the point of rejection by authority. It was the conception of a religious society rather than order, wherein the office should not be said in choir—this is for the purpose of greater mobility; where obedience should be absolute, with none of those corporate qualities

in government (democratic as we now loosely term them) which attached to all the older orders.

This absolute obedience was to be essentially military in quality, therefore strictly monarchic and hierarchic. The units of the fighting force existed for the purposes of the whole body, and those who are ready to criticize a discipline of this kind seem to forget that it has been the necessary essential of every efficient fighting force since man took up arms. Being Catholic, one exception only lay to this conception of an entire discipline, to-wit, the right of refusal in what was sin—a soldier has not even that by the rules of an army, though his moral right remain. In this new ecclesiastical force that exception was formally admitted. For the rest the military idea colored all.

Yet was the objective of that army not defined when the army was made. It was in the mind of St. Ignatius and his followers at first to take on the age-long struggle against Islam. Only later were they thrown upon the new and (as it grew to be) more pressing front of spiritual rebellion in Europe.

They were missionaries, too, of course, and from their origin the world was full of their effort among the heathen. But their main part in the story of our race, and of course in that of the Reformation, is their recovery of what seemed, humanly speaking, like a losing cause: I mean the Cause of the Faith in the sixteenth century.

The founder died in 1556. It was two years later, just at that critical date to which attention has been called so often in these articles, 1558-59, the opening of the period of conflict, that final constitutions were adopted. From that moment onward the struggle was incessant. Before the first lifetime is ended the new combatants have largely decided the issue in France, have helped to save whatever was saved in the Netherlands, have recovered great areas in the Germanies, may be said to have snatched from its peril the hesitating society of Poland.

Those who speak of the failure of the Jesuits in what they attempted and still attempt, do not understand the nature whether of success or of the faith. They do not see that a thing designed for forlorn hopes, for the most difficult of situations, an instrument specially thrown against the positions of greatest peril and least opportunity, is to be measured not by what is unattainable, but by what is attained. For instance, it was the Jesuits who attempted with peculiar heroism that effort in England which an able and despotic and highly organized government, grown more practised with every day and reposing with every day upon a larger body of lapsed Catholics, had made almost inevitably successful. The Jesuits, for all the tortures they suffered and for all their lordly human constancy, did not save England as they saved Poland. But who else made anything like that effort against such odds?

The sweeping success throughout our civilization (for such it was) which attended the new fighting force of the Catholic Church had stiffened it, as armies have, a certain *morale*. It insisted upon two things essential to the moment and to the combat: personal rectitude, and learning. It

turned the scale of discussion, putting all the best weapons into Catholic hands, so that to the very Jesuit philosophers, and notably to the great Suarez, were opponents themselves compelled to turn for argument. Further, they thought out and made of one piece, solid and permanent, a whole new system of education which became the model for Europe, which remains today the basis of all the best instruction in the traditional schools of the continent.

Such was the instrument of the counter-offensive. Such are the reasons for its tardy appearance; but such also is the picture of its achievement. It did not prevent the catastrophe. Who could? It recovered what could be recovered. And on account of its strength and its power to realize its ideals of victory has it been the chief target of those who, from whichever quarter, desire the obliteration of the Catholic name.

It is rather an irony—and history is full of ironies—that the name associated with such grandeur originated as a nickname. It came from the century before the Reformation, a disparaging term for one who has the Holy Name perpetually on his lips in ordinary speech in canting fashion. It was taken up by Calvin against the society as a term of abuse—for that great man clearly scented out where the strength of his enemies lay. It has passed into current speech in a number of twisted forms, and it is no small tribute to the high intelligence which it connotes that it is particularly associated with the complete analysis of moral problems. So that your plain blunt man who spends his days in swindling his fellows and satisfying such poor appetites as he may possess, will call "Jesuitry" whatever demands too exact attention to a difficult point in morals, and after lying freely and in good set terms upon the value or character of his wares, will be shocked at the definitions of Escobar when he hears them at fourth hand upon special cases of mental reservation.

The "Thought Foundation."—A recent issue of *America* has the following important announcement:

The future of scholarship in this country is a question which is giving serious concern to many both outside and within the Church. The mere implication that there does not exist a true scholarship among Catholics is enough to rouse grave protests from all sides. The protestants in this case merely point to our seminaries, colleges and universities, and feel that the accusation is refuted. Even they, however, are disconcerted sometimes when the comparison is made not between competing classrooms with their presiding geniuses, but between the tremendous output of printed works from the secular colleges and the very slender stream which flows from the studies of Catholic learned men and women.

It seems, therefore, that there is no want of true scholarship in the ranks of Catholics, but that there is a very serious want of *productive* scholarship.

Why this should be is not easy to say. That is, the reasons given for the undoubted fact are so very various that it is hard to put one's finger on any one of them, and say that the real reason is here. Overwork, lack of ambition, lack of opportunity to publish, are perhaps those most frequently cited. It was

in view of all three of these reasons that the little group of men who founded *Thought*, a year ago felt that the mere presence of a learned quarterly would act as a stimulus to overcome the lassitude of the classroom, the discouragement of a sense of inferiority and the want of a proper medium in which to publish the result of years of study and research. In this view they were right, as the success of *Thought* has attested.

This same group of editors, however, always felt that their task was not ended when they had merely founded a magazine to print the shorter works of our Catholic scholars. We shall never really take our rightful place among the ranks of the learned until we have to our credit a library of American-written books in theology, philosophy, sociology, education, history, science and literary critisism, all written from the point of view of Christian and Catholic scholarship.

To make this possible, the America Press has taken a step which it now has the pleasure to announce to the American Catholic world. It has set aside a fund, which it calls the "Thought Foundation," and which it will set to work, under the auspices of the editors of the quarterly of that name, for the purpose of making possible the publishing of scholarly works in all the branches above named.

The first work of this series [has appeared]. It is the long-awaited "Life of Bishop England," by that distinguished scholar of the Catholic University, Dr. Peter Guilday. This two-volume book is not merely a biography; it is history of stirring times, those years between 1820 and 1840 when the first storms were preparing against the Catholic Church in this country. Dr. Guilday, with a masterly hand, has uncovered the roots of that opposition, and set them forth with a courageous hand: The managers of the America Press feel that in this scholarly work they have acquired a beginning of good omen for the future.

Illuminating Data.—Rev. Sylvester Schmitz, O.S.B., dean of St. Benedict's College, Atchison, shows in a thesis submitted as a partial requirement of a doctoral degree at the Catholic University of America that religious teachers in Catholic elementary and high schools are better prepared professionally than are the teachers in the corresponding public schools.

Father Schmitz bases his findings upon official reports made by 36 states regarding the professional training of their public school teachers, and upon answers filed by 36 religious communities to detailed questionnaires regarding the preparation of their teaching members. He makes it clear in the beginning that he found it impossible to collect data on each state and to prepare a report that would cover the whole country. It must be borne in mind, he says, that the inferences and conclusions made for the country as a whole are merely suggestive of the probable conditions.

After giving two tables, one of which sets forth the "extent of preparation of elementary and high school teachers in 36 states" and the other the "professional standing of elementary and high school teachers in 36 communities," Father Schmitz says:

"The first column shows that one-fourth (25.8) of all religious teachers have had four years of advanced training. This is more than 10 per cent higher than the corresponding figures for the public school teachers in 36 states. The third column reveals that 57.2 per cent of all religious teachers have had at least two years of higher training as compared with 50.6 per cent of the public school teachers. Of the 36 communities listed, 19, or slightly more than one-half, show a standard of teacher preparation whereby 50 per cent of their teachers or better have had at least two years of training beyond the high school. As regards the public school teachers, only 17 of the 36 states have attained such a standard. The table further reveals that 17.4 per cent of the religious teachers have had no training beyond the high school and that more than one-fifth (20.1 per cent) have had only partial high school training. The corresponding figures for the public school teachers in 36 states are 20.1 and 9.6 per cent, respectively."

. . . . . .

In the chapter devoted to a comparison of the academic training of one-fourth of all the religious teachers in Catholic high schools and the teachers in the public secondary schools in 24 states, Father Schmitz says:

"The findings show that the academic training of the Religious teachers compares very favorable with that of the public school teachers. Seventy-two per cent of the former have had four years of higher training as compared with 65.7 per cent of the latter. Again, 90 per cent of the former have had at least two years of training as compared with 87.9 per cent of the latter. The Religious teachers score a slight advantage likewise in the smaller percentages of teachers who have had no training beyond the high school. The figures for the two groups are 2.3 and 4.3 per cent respectively." No attempt was made to secure the data concerning the academic training of the Religious male teachers and of the lay teachers.

Touching upon the teaching personnel of Religious normal schools Father Schmitz says:

"Of the 164 instructors employed in the 20 normal schools (for random sampling) 24, or 14.6 per cent, hold a doctor's degree, and 76, or 46.6 per cent, hold a bachelor's degree only. Not a single instructor without a degree was reported. Combining the first two items we find that 88, or 53.6 per cent of all instructors employed, hold advanced degrees. This is a remarkable showing when compared with the findings of a survey of the faculty members of 71 teachers colleges in the United States made by Rainey in 1925. . . . The qualifications of the instructors in the particular group of normal schools for Religious teachers appears in still better light when compared with the findings of a survey of 56 state normal schools offering two-year courses. This was made in 1926."

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With regard to the instructors in Teachers colleges, the thesis says:

"The findings in this study show that, of the 390 professors employed, 84, or 21.5 per cent, hold a doctor's degree, 167, or 42.8 per cent, have a master's degree, 103, or 26.4 per cent, have a bachelor's degree only, whilst 36, or 9.2 per cent have no degrees at all. When measured by the standards stated above,

251, or 64.3 per cent of the instructors in 13 colleges have attained the minimum scholastic requirement. From the figures cited in an earlier part of this chapter, we find that only about one-third of the instructors in 71 state teachers colleges measure up to this standard. Within five years it ought not to be a difficult matter for the Catholic colleges in question to eliminate all instructors not having at least a master's degree. Thirty-six instructors have no degrees whatever. It should be noted in this connection, however, that the majority of these are teachers of special subjects, such as music, physical education and art.

"This survey," he says in conclusion, "has shown that the professional status of the teaching personnel of this particular group of Catholic colleges for training of high school teachers is slightly superior to that of many state Teachers colleges, but that considerable improvement should be made within the next five years if the recent standards adopted by the American Association of Teachers Colleges are to be accepted by Catholic institutions as desirable goals of attainment."

"The Suicide Problem in the United States."—Rev. Dr. Frenay, O.P., of the Dominican House of Studies at the Catholic University of America recently produced what is presumably the first exhaustive study of the suicide problem ever made in this country. Dr. Frenay spent several years in the preparation of his work, *The Suicide Problem in the United States*, and his researches have been most extensive.

Among the many interesting conclusions the work has developed are the following:

That the Catholic Church, by demonstration, is a potent factor in the prevention of self-destruction.

That suicides are not now as numerous as they were in 1915, but that they receive much publicity today.

That economic conditions do not furnish an absolute index to the suicide rate.

That suicides occur least frequently among married people and most frequently among divorcees. There are five suicides among divorcees for one among married people.

In an interview with a representative of the N. C. W. C. News Service, Dr. Frenay pointed out that one of every 100 deaths is a suicide and that more than 10,000 people in the United States kill themselves every year.

"The suicide rate," he said, "reached its highest point in 1915. With the following year it showed a remarkable decrease. Nowadays there are fewer suicides in this country than there were twelve years ago, though greater publicity is given them today.

"What is the reason for this remarkable change for the better? It is evident that the World War left traces of its influence. As soon as the European War affected the economic life of our nation, the suicide rates began to follow a downward trend. Experience teaches that war is followed by a decrease in suicide rates. War is a time of increased national activities. Unforeseen opportunities arise and new hopes and national ambitions rekindle the flames of life. The suicide rate has remained relatively low year after year since the war."

Dr. Frenay said that the theory that the suicide rate reflects the intellectual development of a people is easily refuted. He pointed to the fact that Japan has a higher rate than has England. The people of England, he said, surely are more highly educated, in the average, than are the Japanese.

"It is said generally," he continued, "that suicides occur less frequently in the South than in other sections of the United States. First of all, a great part of the population in the South is made up of colored people, who commit suicide less frequently than do white people. Secondly, the greater part of the South is made up of rural districts, where, again, suicide is less frequent than in urban sections. If we refer only to the white city population of the South, we will find that suicide is committed there more frequently than in the Northeastern section of the country and in the Central States. Only the Western States prove to have a higher suicide rate than the South.

"More men than women commit suicide," he continued. "The proportion is three to one. Yet, girls under twenty years of age seek voluntary death more frequently than do boys. Disappointment in love, the expectation, or rather the dreaded approach, of illegitimate childbirth and the attempt to procure abortion are largely responsible for the higher rate of suicides among females of this early age.

"Married people show the least tendency toward suicide. Widowed folk, male and female, commit suicide far more frequently than do single people and divorced people exhibit the greatest inclination to suicide."

Dr. Frenay said that the theory that the weather has a bearing upon the suicide rate may safely be relegated "to the department of history."

"Racial influences, however, are characteristic," he said. "The German element is inclined to take matters more seriously than the Irish, who are of a joyous disposition. These national characteristics are reflected even in the hour of death. Americans of German descent have a greater tendency towards suicide than have Americans whose forebears were from Ireland, Italy, Spain or Poland.

"These very nations—the Irish, Italians and Poles (and their grouping is not according to geographical lines)—are Catholic. Catholic nations in Europe have low suicide rates, while Protestant nations have high suicide rates.

"Here in the United States we have no religious death registration, but we can see an influence of the Catholic religion that cannot be denied.

"The Church, for centuries, has educated the nations of the world to abhor self-destruction. The effects of this training are clearly evident in the life of the European nations as compared to each other. The same effects can be traced in the strata of nationalities which make up our own United States."

The Holy See and the National Catholic Welfare Conference.—In a notable letter to the American Hierarchy, read at the annual meeting of the bishops held at the Catholic University during September, His Holiness, Pope Pius XI commends the work of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and declares that the organization is not only useful but necessary for the well-being of the Church in the United States. This official pronouncement should set at

rest the frequent antagonistic utterances of a section of the Catholic press whose policy seems to be that of persistent criticism of all and sundry who are not identified with iconoclastic journalism.

A Munificent Gift to the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.—On Saturday, September 24, the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians presented to the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception the sum of ten thousand dollars for a chapel in honor of Saint Brigid of Kildare. Pontifical Mass was celebrated by Bishop Shahan in the Crypt, at which all the principal officers and many members of the Ladies' Auxiliary were present. Bishop Shahan spoke as follows in praise of the great Irish Saint, the "Mary of the Gael":

Dear Ladies' Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In the name of Our Blessed Mother I welcome you to her holy temple, the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. You represent all parts of our beloved country, but you represent also the Catholic faith of the Irish race and its immemorial devotion to Jesus Christ, His holy church, and the Successor of Peter.

Amid the changes that, like the tides of ocean, go on forever about us, the children of St. Patrick have clung to these essentials of the Christian religion and can rightly boast that they have kept the faith which he delivered to them fifteen centuries ago. Among the peoples and races of our day none has such a record of fidelity to a spiritual cause, and none has suffered so much for its religious convictions.

Now this is unique in human history and it is natural to ask the reason of such unswerving loyalty. From the earliest days of its conversion to Christ the Irish race has attributed its peculiar steadfastness in the religion of Christ to its earliest apostle St. Patrick, but also to St. Brigid, the intimate friend and counsellor of St. Patrick, and the spiritual mother of the countless Irish maidens who in every age have followed in her footsteps. In due time they have blessed the whole world by their virtues, their sacrifices, and that high religious idealism which even in our own day sends them to the ends of the world for the glory of God and the service of Catholicism, across every sea, to the heart of Africa and of Asia, and to every part of the New World. If St. Patrick planted the Catholic faith in the hearts of the men of Ireland so securely that it has never wavered in so many centuries, St. Brigid in turn so impressed the women of Ireland that they have never yielded to their brothers in the love of Jesus Christ and their readiness to obey His precepts and follow His counsels. Through the shadows of our ancient history Brigid appears to us as a woman of wise counsel, good sense, and fine character. While she lived the image of Patrick was reflected in her mind and heart, and for many centuries the bishops of Ireland, whenever they met, paid loving tribute to the memory of the great Abbess of Kildare. We are told that she greatly loved music and the arts, beautiful books and richly illuminated manuscripts. Her own Book of the Gospels, the loveliest work that a human hand ever penned, was preserved at Kildare until the sixteenth century, when it disappeared, leaving us only the Book of Kells to measure the loss then sustained by the fine arts. Her name is stamped irrevocable on countless sites and objects, on churches and chapels and oratories without number, not only in Ireland but in Scotland and England, even in Iceland and Greenland. In modern times it has traveled to the ends of the world, as closely united to the name of Patrick as both saints were united while living in the love and the service of Jesus Christ. Eventually the Irish conscience called her the "Mary of the Gael," a truly wonderful tribute paid to no other woman in history, but richly deserved by reason of her fidelity to the teachings of the Gospel, by the sanctity of her life, and by the power of her example at all times on the women of Ireland. It

is quite natural, therefore, that in this great sanctuary of Our Blessed Mother there should be some memorial of St. Brigid, and equally natural that it should be the gift of women in whose veins flows the same warm Irish blood. It is natural also that this chapel should be a beautiful and durable work of art, since Brigid was herself, in heart, taste and skill, the first of that long line of Irish artists to whom we owe the many beautiful objects that fill the museums of Dublin and to which the artistic sense of Europe has more than once turned for light and inspiration. This lovely chapel in particular is one of ten that represent here the faith in Jesus Christ of the earliest Christian women, a faith that they sealed with their blood. They surrounded the splendid high altar as co-witnesses with His Blessed Mother of the divinity of Christ. On one side there are Agnes and Agatha, Cecilia, Anastasia, Perpetua and Felicitas. On the other there are Catharine and Margaret, Lucy and Susanna. St. Brigid belongs among them by her martyrdom of self, by her courageous assertion of the divinity of Jesus Christ, and by the self-sacrifice of her spiritual daughters the world over. All these courageous and saintly women look toward the splendid high altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin of the Catacombs, as to the Queen of Martyrs, and decorated with the statues of the Apostles as the original and foremost witnesses of the divinity of Jesus Christ. In this holy assembly the "Mary of the Gael" finds a warm welcome, and a cordial recognition of the service that her perfect example and her hallowed name have furnished to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, wherever and whenever men have admitted its transcendent power and charm. Finally, it may be said that Brigid is here among the most famous martyrs as the accepted representative of that unparalleled martyrdom to which Ireland was unjustly doomed for many long decades of modern times, and which she bore with a Christian patience that eventually overcame her oppressors and shamed them into admiration. One word more. St. Brigid is universally accepted as the human source and representative of that sweet virtue of purity which has always been the distinguishing characteristic of the women of Irish race. By right is she here as the spokesman and model of this wonderful virtue, the protection and guarantee of family happiness, and on which rests to no small extent our civilization. In this respect civilization is indeed threatened today by the almost total collapse of parental authority, the unchecked license of animal desire, the decaying restraint of evil and destructive passions, the malign influence of the pictorial arts and the press, above all by the victorious philosophy of materialism that impudently justifies the terrible shipwreck of the moral life at which our society is assisting.

St. Brigid stands today as of old for the saving virtue of Christian purity that long ago overcame the bad old world of paganism, its arrogant empire of the flesh, its cruel pride of life, its profound corruption of the eye and its idolatry of the senses. Yes, we need St. Brigid and her holy life of self-respect and self-control, her flight to the Cross of Christ and His sacred wounds, her veneration of the Mother of Sorrows, and her vision of the open grave and the judgment beyond. We need the great Irish woman who learned from St. Patrick the true nature and uses of the body; also the high, the supreme dignity and destiny of the soul. We need the strong good, sensible woman who earned the lasting esteem of the strongest men of her race, and in her gentle way won them to respect of the divine law, the stern sacrifice of fierce passion, and the approval of the highest Christian life. We need very badly all that she stands for in Christian life, and we rejoice that in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception her memorial altar and chapel will be forever eloquent of the incalculable service she rendered to a people noble by nature, and through them to all mankind.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in later issues of the REVIEW.)

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